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Haksar Memorial Volume III

Challenges for Nation Building in a World in Turmoil

Challenges for Nation Building in a World in Turmoil is the third in the series of Haksar Memorial Volumes, planned by the Centre for Research in Rural and Industrial Development (CRRID), as its regular academic activity. It is a collection of papers discussed over a week on issues pertaining to Nation Building Development Processes, Communication and Governance, at CRRID from 9-15 November 2005. Dr. Manmohan Singh, Prime Minister of India inaugurated the programme. Eminent scholars, experts, diplomats and administrators from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, South Korea, Israel, Russian Federation and the European Union participated in this Seminar.

This publication has several distinctive features, which reflect the concerns of the participants representing different political and ideological persuasions. The discussion covers diverse issues. The global war against terrorism is perceived as a civilizational challenge and it is suggested that a new philosophy of rejecting terrorism and, by implication, violence in all its forms, is generally taking place. The issue of softening the borders raises many relevant questions about India-Pakistan relations. Stress has been laid on democratic decentralization in the context of the demands of meaningful governance and panchayati raj. The media too comes in for critical attention in this context. Discussions also cover the importance of pluralism in the context of globalization. The importance of the role of education and health of women emerges as an important issue to enable them play their proper role in development. Attention has been drawn to the importance of collaboration in medium industries between India and the European Union. Fresh light has been thrown on the challenges of technology and pricing for agricultural development in Punjab. A major contribution on the discussions is about the role of the latest developments in Science and Technology in the area of health.

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HAKSAR MEMORIAL VOLUME III

Challenges for Nation Building in a World in Turmoil

Papers presented at the Fourth Haksar Memorial Seminar-cum-Lecture Series on Nation Building, Development Process, Communication and Governance organized by CRRID from 9-15 November 2005

Edited by
Subrata Banerjee

Price Rs. 795/- US$ 40

PREFACE

A week-long Seminar-cum-Lecture Series Programme on issues pertaining to Nation Building, Development Processes, Communication and Governance was organized by the Centre for Research in Rural and Industrial Development (CRRID), Chandigarh, from 9-15 November 2005, in the memory of the late Shri P N Haksar, a profound thinker, veteran diplomat and a great visionary. He had been the Chairman of the Board of Governors of CRRID and Editor-in-Chief of the international quarterly journal *Man & Development* since its inception in 1979 till his demise in November 1998.

This historically important event was inaugurated by Professor Manmohan Singh, Honourable Prime Minister of India, on 9 November, 2005. The programme was preceded by an interactive session on 'Regional and Global Terrorist Threats: The Way Out', in which eminent scholars, experts, diplomats and administrators from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, South Korea, Israel, the Russian Federation and the European Union participated. The interactive session was organized by the CRRID in collaboration with the International Public Foundation-Experimental Creative Centre, Kurgniyan Centre, Russia and Professor M L Sondhi Foundation.

In his Inaugural Address the Prime Minister drew the attention of the participants to the need for strengthening the relationship between and among the South Asian countries. He underlined also the necessity of establishing an Institute of South Asian Studies and constituting a Think Tank by CRRID. The participants addressed several issues including the danger arising from the threats of global terrorism and indicated the possible way out.

The Russian delegation had the largest participation, both at the inaugural session on 'Regional and Global Terrorist Threats: The Way Out' and the Seminar-cum-Lecture Series. They have already brought out a publication both in Russian and in English, which have been widely distributed. Meanwhile CRRID was successful in securing revised contributions of the distinguished participants. These are being published in the form of this volume which has been edited by the well-known scholar, journalist and diplomat, Mr. Subrata Banerjee. He has been associated with CRRID for the past 25 years, both as an Advisor to

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the Publication Programme and as Chairman, Editorial Board of the international quarterly *Man & Development*.

This publication has several distinctive features, which reflect the concerns of the participants representing different political and ideological persuasions. There was unanimity on the vital issue of combating terrorism by strengthening the process of confidence building through communication, which was achievable by promoting interaction between and among the peace-loving countries of the world. It was also highlighted that for accelerating the process of technological development so as to achieve social, economic, cultural, scientific, and educational progress, pooling our resources is imperative. It was also pointed out by every participant that those who disturbed peace and took to violence had organized themselves at various levels, whereas others who see peace as the only way to accelerate the process of development are not united. This keeps the way open for the spread of terrorism, thereby adversely affecting planning and implementation of developmental programmes for nation building.

CRRID, with its meagre resources, has been organizing lectures, seminars and conferences for the past several years, as part of its regular activities. This has been possible because of the co-operation and support of distinguished individuals, organizations, universities and even governments. It has been possible to bring out this publication, thanks to the contributions of the distinguished participants, superb editing and designing by Mr. Subrata Banerjee and the hard work put in by the Editorial Research and Publication Officer, Ms Suman Khosla, and her colleagues.

We propose to hold the next International Conference on Peace and Development in the first week of November 2006, as a part of our annual programme in the memory of the late Shri P N Haksar. This is how inspiration translates itself into action.

We look forward to your comments on this volume and suggestions for future publications of this nature.

Rashpal Malhotra
Director General
Centre for Research in Rural
and Industrial Development

INTRODUCTION

The Fourth Haksar Memorial Seminar-cum-Lecture Series, organized by CRRID and held at its Chandigarh Campus (9-15 November 2005) really had two components. The first was in the form of a seminar on Regional and Global Terrorist Threats: The Way Out, held on 8 November. It was basically a session of a Russian-Israeli seminar being held annually for more than four years. CRRID hosted and participated in the seminar. It thus became trilateral. CRRID's participation in the seminar brought in speakers from Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, South Korea, Israel, Russian Federation, European Union and India. Together, they helped to provide a wider perspective to the generally specific experiences of the Russians and the Israelis. The discussions were in the context of globalization and the consequent modification of national sovereignty in the interest of regional development and the solution of global problems, of which terrorism has become a major issue. The Russian and Israeli participants perceived the core roots of global terrorism in religion, and particularly in Islam. They recognized, however, that regional or local terrorism was political and rooted in the demand for self-determination, or national independence. Global terror was seen to arise out of a global ideology. Both the Russians and the Israelis saw in the Islamic character of global terrorism a tendency towards contradictory alliances among conflicting Islamic sects.

The second component of the event ensued when Honourable Prime Minister of India, Professor Manmohan Singh formally inaugurated the Fourth Haksar Memorial Seminar-cum-Lecture Series, 'Nation Building, Development Process, Communication and Governance', on 9 November, 2005. Preceding his inaugural address, Shri Keshub Mahindra, Chairman of the Governing Body of CRRID and Gen S F Rodrigues, Governor of Punjab and Chief Administrator of the Union Territory of Chandigarh, welcomed the Prime Minister and the participants. Dr A R Kidwai, Governor of Haryana, and Mr. Subrata Banerjee and Ms. Nandita Haksar paid tributes to Shri P N Haksar.

The Prime Minister, who continues to be a Life Member of the Governing Body of CRRID, spoke of his vision of the future of South Asia, on the lines he expressed on the eve of the SAARC session at

Dhaka. He made a strong plea for the recognition of the interdependence of the region, in the context of his perception of not merely shared boundaries and shared civilizational roots, but also a shared destiny. He referred to the way the countries of the region got together to help each other at the time of the two recent natural disasters — the tsunami and the earthquake — as a proof of the interdependence of the region imposed by nature. He emphasized the need to jointly meet the challenges of poverty, health, education, environmental pollution and above all terrorism. He pointed out that the destiny of the countries in South Asian countries is interlinked. In this background, the Prime Minister elaborated on the issues that demanded attention at the forthcoming SAARC summit in the spirit of interdependence that strengthens collective security and secures collective prosperity.

The issues raised at the seminar on Regional and Global Terrorist Threats: The Way Out, on the previous day, spilled over into the discussions on 9 November, 2005. The Russian participants stressed the global character of terrorism and the need for a global strategy for fighting it and united action on the part of the countries concerned. They emphasized the importance of the diverse dimensions of India-Russia relations built on the solid foundations of a long tradition of mutual co-operation. The global war against terrorism was perceived as a civilizational challenge. It was further suggested that a new philosophy of rejecting terrorism and, by implication, violence in all its forms, was generally taking root. Each of the participants had some suggestions to offer for fighting terrorism. What emerged from the presentations by those belonging to this region was that no common approach, or final solution, really existed. Terrorism flourished in various parts of the world, but their causes were different, depending on specific historical conditions. Terrorists were not always part of organizations with international ramifications. Local issues had to be dealt with locally. It was necessary to understand the underlying causes of terrorist violence in each case and deal with it in a spirit of empathy and justice. At the same time it was realized that there was a necessity for co-operation among all countries affected by terrorism to see that it does not take on a global character of a combination of different regional or local terrorist groups, even if it were merely for the sake of training and access to weapons and not any ideological reasons.

After the session on Regional and Global Terrorist Threats: The Way Out, the participants took up a number of diverse issues.

Although apparently there seemed to be no connection between the different themes discussed at the seminar, a closer look would reveal that each one of them fits into the framework of the overall umbrella of a wide field of issues related to global terrorism, national security, development, extension of democracy, communication, science and technology and international economic relations.

The first theme for discussion was International Relations and Security Considerations: Conflict Resolution. The theme paper for discussion provided a perceptive and critical analysis of the formulation of India's foreign policy and its impact. The speaker was optimistic about the current breach in the thaw between India and Pakistan and called for functional co-operation among the countries of South Asia.

A logical follow up to this theme was the next session on Softening of Borders for Achieving Peace and Prosperity: Problems and Prospects. The different speakers looked at the issue from different and at times even contradictory perspectives. One view saw no future in the attempts to soften the borders between India and Pakistan. A contrary view discussed, in a historical perspective, the economic and political un-sustainability of hostile relations between India and Pakistan. It called upon the political leadership of both the countries to transcend past syndromes and work jointly for the betterment of their peoples, including Kashmiris. Another speaker presented the ground realities in Kashmir and pointed out that soft borders should be a part of a political process and regional in character. A participant from South Korea presented a very perceptive and detailed analysis of the experience of the Korean Peninsula in a socio-economic approach to the softening of borders. An Indian speaker looked at the question of borders from an entirely different perspective, that of a historian, and discussed border practices in different cultures through time, covering South Asian, Western classical and American cultures and raised the question as to how territories, the basis of boundaries, came to be created.

The seminar next moved on to a wider area of concern — The Constitution, Governance and Democratic Decentralization: A Comparative Scenario of India, European Union and Other Countries. The keynote paper made a powerful plea for ethics and morality in governance, in the tradition of India's national culture, as defined in terms of religion by Gandhi, Vivekananda and Rabindranath. The discussions started in the context of the Indian Constitution and went

on to the experience of the Panchayat Raj Institutions. They brought out the need for knowledge empowerment of Panchayats and rural communities, measures for its achievement and the nature of the knowledge and information package. A significant contribution to this discussion came from a team of researchers from the faculty of CRRID. Their joint presentation provided a critical assessment, based on their field studies, of the inertia of the states in fulfilling the constitutional obligations on democratic decentralization through the functioning of the Panchayat Raj Institutions. An important contribution from Nepal presented a very perceptive picture of current developments in the country in the context of the subject under discussion.

The media, both print and electronic, have a very important role to play in creating public opinion and monitoring governance and implementation of every aspect of nation building, especially with the possibilities opened up by the revolution in information technology. The discussion on the role of the Print and Electronic Media in Nation Building and Development Process logically followed the previous theme. Earlier, two participants from Finland had made very perceptive presentations on the opportunities, challenges and threats to democracy through digital divides in the global information society, which is emerging as the strongest possible source of homogenization of cultures and thus centralized control of the human mind at a global level. The other speakers acknowledged the wider reach of the media and the possibilities and challenges opened up by the revolution in information technology. They, however, felt that the media today had been trivialized to a large extent and were not doing enough to project, promote and monitor issues of development and nation building. A very significant criticism came, not from a practitioner but from a consumer of the media. It was a very clear denunciation of the claim of the media to meet the expectations and interests of the public at large.

The Role of Urban Development in Nation Building was the next theme for discussion. The only presentation made was very informative, providing a detailed picture of the various measures for ultimately developing financially self-sustaining agencies of urban governance and service delivery.

Governance and nation building in India has to take into account the plurality of the country. The next session considered Contemporary Relevance and Imperatives of Strengthening Pluralism.

The presentations covered a very wide range of issues involved, especially in the context of globalization and the rise of the politics of religion and their impact on the future of pluralization. The point made was that the content of Indianness is characterized by the plurality of thought and ideas, combined with a feeling of togetherness generated not by political exigencies but the experience of history. Attention was drawn to the relationship between cultural plurality and social change in the context of building a nation-state, at a time when the very speed of change was challenging the cherished social and cultural values and even normal institutions of governance. A discussion on the collapse of socialism and the need for its re-visioning in a plural age context, struck at the very roots of the concept of globalization as projected today. Questions were also raised about the contradictions and paradoxes inherent in a plural world without boundaries.

The education and health of women are essential factors of demographic change, which contribute to nation building. This was the theme of the session that followed: Redefining the Role of Women in Education, Health and Demographic Change. The presentations covered a variety of issues related to the basic theme. There were two interesting case studies of Haryana and Punjab. The paper on Haryana drew attention to the falling growth rate of education and health of women and particularly of the sex ratio. The case study of Punjab acknowledged the progress made in women's education but pointed out that there was a great deal still to be done, especially in areas of higher education, vocational education and the empowerment of women. Another paper called for greater female participation in defining health priorities, planning, and policy formulation and in the demand for accountability. A paper on the education system in India and its organization provided a glimpse into the history of the development of educational policies in the country and a comparative study of the penetration of the modern system of education, along with the continuation of the traditional system, especially among Muslims. There was also a presentation on issues of reproductive health.

Globalization and liberalization have opened up new opportunities for industrial collaboration among different countries in hitherto untouched areas. The next session was devoted to Match Making of Small and Medium Enterprises between the European Union and India in Automobile and Food Processing Sectors. The discussions, centred on the tremendous opportunities that have

opened up for collaboration with the countries of the European Union in these two areas. Reference was made to the erosion of profitability in small and medium enterprises in the European Union and the potential for collaboration with India in these areas to mutual advantage. A significant element of this session was the active participation of a number of industrialists in the discussions.

The final session of the Fourth Haksar Memorial Lectures-cum-Seminar Series was on the Role of Technology in Poverty Alleviation, Agriculture and Industrial Development, Cyclotron, PET-CT Scan and Super Computers. Industrialists, agricultural scientists, economists and of course material scientists were major participants in this session. In the discussion on agriculture the speakers focused on the challenges facing the sector today: (a) conservation of resources: water, soil and environment; (b) improvement of the income of small farmers; (c) policy issues, such as right pricing and targeting of subsidized inputs; and (d) translating technology into dissemination and use at the field level. Three very distinct aspects of science and technology were covered. Very important was the presentation on the Role of Science City in Socio-economic Development of the Region, in the context of the joint project of the Governments of India and Punjab. It discussed the objectives, the strategy for the implementation of the project and the benefits that would accrue from it. Of the two other presentations, one explained the importance of Positron Emission Tomography for the diagnosis and treatment of cancer and heart patients and also of some neurology and psychiatry patients. They also explained the role of a Cyclotron in the area of medicine. The other discussed the Cyclotron set up at Chandigarh and its application to biomedical and environmental research. The presentation also put forward a proposal for establishing of a Centre for Medical Cyclotron and Research.

The Fourth Haksar Memorial Seminar-cum-Lecture Series was very much in the spirit of Shri P N Haksar's holistic approach to issues of development and that too in an international context. Foreign participation, mainly from our neighbouring regions, helped widen the vision of the participants on issues of development, in the context of the challenge of terrorism, which causes diversion of economic resources of a country from investment in development projects to security logistics.

Subrata Banerjee

Parmeshwar Narain Haksar: A Profile

Parmeshwar Narain Haksar, a veteran diplomat, social scientist, political thinker and writer, was born on 4 September 1913, in Gujranwala in the part of Punjab that is now in Pakistan. He lived the life of a *Karam Yogi* till he breathed his last on 27 November 1998.

Haksar had his education both in India and the United Kingdom, where he went to study Law, but was equally interested in studying Science, Anthropology and International Relations. Those were tumultuous times. The rough and tumble of the national movement for freedom left a deep impress on his young creative mind. It was in the vibrant days of the thirties that Haksar came in contact with and was influenced by an intellectual giant, Krishna Menon, who became High Commissioner of India to Britain. Under his leadership Haksar was active in the India League movement for freedom during his student days in London. Krishna Menon was known for his wit and powerful oratory. He later became the Defence Minister of India under the leadership of Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru. Another influence on Haksar in those days was of Rajni Palme Dutt of the Communist Party of Great Britain. This brought him to Marxism and gave him a world outlook and a methodology of social analysis that remained a source of inspiration all his life and informed his concept of plural humanism and a humane society.

Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India, picked up Haksar, on his return home, to join the Indian Foreign Service. One of his first assignments was to be a member of the Indian delegation to the UN Security Council in January 1948, when the Kashmir issue was under discussion. In his early years in the service he worked under Krishna Menon and later under Justice M C Chagla, (who later became Union Minister for External Affairs and Education) in the Indian High Commission in the UK.

A new and a very important phase in Haksar's life began when Prime Minister Indira Gandhi recalled him from London to be her

Secretary. As a diplomat, deeply committed to his country's interests, he not only implemented most effectively India's foreign policy but also contributed to its formulation through his perceptive study of the countries, where he represented India. Now he moved into the area of formulation and implementation of national policies in their totality. He brought to his task the lessons he had acquired as a diplomat, which had transformed him into a social scientist and a political thinker. In this sphere he proved his mettle as no one before or, so far, after. He played a determining role in policy-making and set up a pattern of governance imbued with social purpose, to which the ruling elites have to come back again and again.

The Bangladesh crisis was indeed Haksar's finest hour, in the midst of which his retirement became due. He was re-employed as Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi. In the period that followed he played a crucial role in the inner circles of decision-making. He was a planner and architect of India's Bangladesh policy from the beginning to the end, including the generous handling of the Shimla talks with Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the then Prime Minister of Pakistan. Pakistan has so far failed to extricate itself from the framework of the Shimla Pact. Haksar organized the most effective diplomatic offensive ever in India's history and turned an initially hostile international public opinion into that of sympathy and support. At the same time he interacted with the Bangladesh leadership in such a constructive manner as to help them not only in the diplomatic field but also in their internal dynamics.

In 1973 Haksar was appointed Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission of India, of which the Prime Minister is the Chairman, and Vice-Chairman of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research Centre, an umbrella organization of scientific laboratories and national institutes.

Haksar had a rare quality of communicating complex issues in a simple and straightforward manner. Besides being the Chairman of India's most prestigious Indian Statistical Institute, he had also nurtured other institutions including the Centre for Research in Rural and Industrial Development as its Chairman and also Editor-in-Chief of its International Quarterly, *Man & Development*, almost from the very beginning in 1979 to 1998. Under his editorship *Man & Development* achieved international recognition as the mouthpiece for a wide and diverse spectrum of Indian social science studies of a high standard.

CRRID, which had started from scratch with a handful of young researchers and limited funds, bears Haksar's imprint. Today CRRID is an institution of national status, conferred by the Indian Council of Social Science Research in 1985, and developed as a multidisciplinary centre of research under his guidance. CRRID has acquired special consultative status from the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations.

Haksar was a good photographer, particularly of portraits, a connoisseur of painting and music, both western and Indian, a voracious reader with a wide range of interests and a scholar of Sanskrit and Urdu literature. He had an encyclopedic mind. He authored *Premonitions: Imperatives of Change; Reflections on Our Times; Indian Foreign Policy and Its Problems; A Basket of Fallen Leaves; One More Life (1913-1929)* and *Contemplations on the Human Condition* (Haksar Memorial Volume I).

A towering personality, a man of superb sensitivity, infinite charm, warmth of affection, loyalty towards friends and a remarkable dignity, Parmeshwar Narain Haksar was indeed the finest among men.

Subrata Banerjee

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Inaugural Session

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Welcome Address
Keshub Mahindra

Prime Minister, Your Excellencies, Honourable Ministers, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen.

In extending a very warm welcome to all of you, I have a very special one for our Chief Guest, Dr Manmohan Singh, Prime Minister of India. Sir, we are honoured and delighted that you have been gracious enough to inaugurate our deliberations. It would be moronic on my part to try and introduce you to this audience. As the prime architect of our liberalization and reform processes, Dr Manmohan Singh has not only been instrumental in transforming the nature of our economic and social fabric but has truly laid the foundations of a new modern India. While we attained our political freedom some five decades ago, it took us four decades to usher an era of economic freedom. It is rightly said that in a democratic society, political freedom and economic freedom go hand in hand. It was Dr Manmohan Singh who brought about this change. We owe him a debt of gratitude for his vision. We had the honour of having him as the President and Chairman of the Governing Body of our Centre before he was abducted into politics and became our Prime Minister. He still continues as a member of our Governing Body for which graciousness I am thankful to him.

It is only apt that our deliberations this week are dedicated to the memory of the late Mr P N Haksar. This institute was the vision of our present Director General, Rashpal Malhotra, who established it in 1979 and it was he who was instrumental in coercing Mr Haksar to become the President and Chairman of the Governing Body in 1980. After an illustrious career in public service spanning many years, Mr Haksar devoted his life to establishing institutes of learning. He lent his intellectual and moral support to Rashpal and the growth and development of this institute bears the imprint of his passion. Mr Haksar devoted considerable time in nurturing the young faculty, as also involving eminent experts in the universities and institutions to guide them on different projects, both of a fundamental nature as well as

of contemporary relevance, pursuing a multidisciplinary approach. He contributed in building up a strong foundation, as a result of which, Mr Prime Minister, after you accepted the Chairmanship, you provided continuity and raised the level of this Centre to become an institute of academic excellence. I am happy to report to you, sir, and to my distinguished friends gathered here that after my election as the Chairman of the Governing Body and President of the Society, I found that the encouragement and scholastic guidance they received from you has made my task easier, a task which I am trying to perform with the unstinted support and co-operation of my colleagues on the Governing Body and of the Society, as well as the dedication of the faculty and staff. I know my limitations. This Centre needs your intellectual support and guidance, which you have been gracious enough to provide, even after your election as our Prime Minister. Over the years we have earned a reputation for providing an environment, in which even the most sensitive subjects are debated by some of our most profound scholars in total confidence and transparency.

I believe that in order to tackle the menace of terrorism, it is imperative that the world formulates a global plan. Some have estimated that since 1992, through acts of terrorism, nearly 60,000 persons have been killed in India. We do not have time, for these acts of terrorism are now spreading worldwide. Some imminent action is necessary. During the days of the Cold War, the enemy was visible, targets were clear to achieve military supremacy. As the world began to understand what a nuclear war would bring in its wake, there emerged a global policy of deterrence bringing back some realism and sanity. A possible nuclear holocaust was avoided.

Now there has emerged a more dreadful enemy, an invisible one, whose prime objective is to create fear, terror and uncertainty in order to bring chaos and targeted are the unfortunate innocents of this world. Technology is not needed, what is at work is a mindset to cause destruction. The act can be undertaken by individuals, which makes it that much more dangerous. It is sad that acts of terrorism are not only nurtured and protected but also encouraged by many vested interests. I was shocked to learn the other day that training courses in terrorism are now available on the net. There has to be a concerted effort by like-minded nations to combat terrorism and, in our country, a unified political will to fight. I hope that discussions this week lead us to some solutions.

With these words, I thank you once again for your presence. May I, sir, request you to inaugurate our sessions.

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Co-operation in the Face of Threat

Sergey Kurginyan

Let me on behalf of the Russian delegation express our deep gratitude to the honourable Prime Minister of India Dr Manmohan Singh for his participation in our modest attempt to develop a multilateral dialogue.

Also, let me on behalf of all participants express our appreciation of the contribution of the Prime Minister to safeguarding world stability. From year to year India is going to play an increasingly significant role in ensuring it. This country can be proud of the fact, that such outstanding statesmen of the twenty-first century as Dr Manmonan Singh, are leading it to new horizons.

No man of politics is able to influence the future if he is not backed up by the great past. Dr Manmohan Singh obviously belongs to those political figures who maintain the idea of profound continuity — a continuity which in no way contradicts political innovation. It is exactly the combination of innovation and tradition, uniqueness and continuity that constitutes the essence of the political course of the present Government of India.

These features of the Indian leadership are well appreciated in Russia. For Russia there is not and cannot be a more harmonious strategic ally than India. It has been true at all times. And since the Russian political course is also aimed at combining traditions and novelty, Russia cannot help admiring the synthesis which is being carried out in fraternal India.

The presence of Dr Manmohan Singh at the lectures in honor of the late Mr P N Haksar testifies to the fact that the memory of India's great political past is valid for the Indian policy of nowadays.

Russia remembers and appreciates the role of Mr Haksar in that Indian political reality which was permeated with the friendship

between our countries. That reality is still living in our hearts. Together with it is living the memory of such great Indian personalities as Mr Haksar.

The decisive contribution to our meeting has been made by Mr Malhotra, the Director-General of the Centre for Research in Rural and Industrial Development. The live links between the past and the present do not exist without particular personalities, without their will, their thinking and without their human passion. We all regard Mr Malhotra as the personality of this particular human nature.

One of the quite ambiguous but far from wretched European intellectuals, Alain de Benua, said that the political and intellectual European families were in the state of profound divorce from each other. The divorce is fraught with unfavourable consequences for politicians.

Dr Manmohan Singh's attending the events organized by the Centre for Research in Rural and Industrial Development vividly testifies to the fact that political and intellectual families of India are not in the state of divorce. It is a very important pledge of the success of Indian policy and the prosperity of Indian society.

Let me express our common conviction that such a success of Indian policy and the prosperity of the nation is of great significance not only for India. It is also an important component of global success. Thus, it will contribute to the success of our nations. The world is living through the time which is far from being serene. For the better times to come we do need the most beneficial situation in India. It is important that Indian growth and prosperity become the factor that can lead world policy into the proper course.

Let me also present our deep condolences for the recent terrorist attacks in India, as well as for the other known misfortunes that affected among others the hospitable Punjab, which welcomes all of us today.

The compassion for the victims of any tragedy is not a mere formality. It is the emotion that makes us human and consolidates mankind. But, nevertheless, compassion for the victims of terror is specific. Terrorism is becoming the true plague of the twenty-first century. Paying tribute to its victims, we at the same time undertake the responsibility for the executioners to be found and punished, thus preventing a new plague that could result in the destruction of our modern civilization.

Esteemed Dr Prime Minister, all our Indian counterparts, know that our compassion and sympathy for India's grief is in no way of a mere protocol character. Both Russia and Israel know the bitter taste of such grief and such tears. Only the one who has had this experience, is capable of compassion for the distress of others. Alas, we do have such an experience. This experience underlies our deep compassion for what has happened in this country.

Who can consider himself invulnerable to the terrorist threat? If the Second World War did not spread its sheaf over Latin America and Australia, nowadays no place of the world can claim not to be the target of a terrorist attack. Terrorists are able to hit any spot of the globe. It means that the whole of the world can meet their challenge only through profound international consolidation. Without global co-operation we have no possibility of defeating terrorism, which has already become global.

Unfortunately, globalization is not manifested only by the existence of Internet and other communication networks or by the scope of international and cultural co-operation. Globalization of terror and globalization of crime are also the phenomena of our time. Without being able to understand the essence of this obvious global evil we shall not be able to prevent its victory.

The task of those present here is to deprive this evil of the status of a 'global invisible being'. Terror, both in the literary translation from Latin and its true sense is the producer and the exploiter of terror.

Chekhov, one of Russia's greatest classical writers, rightly noted that the greatest fear is generated by something that is uncertain, undiscovered and non-cognized.

The English poet Kipling, with his passionate although ambiguous plunge into Indian culture, had no doubt that all human progress, expressed the same link between terror and anonymity and indefiniteness, in wonderful verse:

> It was not in the open fight
> We threw away the sword,
> But in the lonely watching
> In the darkness of the ford.
> The waters lapped, the night-wind blew,
> Full-armed the Fear was born and grew,
> And we were flying ere we knew
> From panic in the night.

Terrorism claims the status of an 'unidentified nightmare'. The activity of the special services with regard to the conventional threats suggests finding out the motives, intentions and capabilities of the adversary. The adversary himself is known.

In the case of terrorism, and global terrorism in particular, we deal with an unidentified adversary and need to identify it. This is a new task. It is aggravated by the fact that the adversary is of an atypical character in principle. I use here the word 'atypical' by analogy with 'atypical pneumonia'.

Atypical terrorism as our adversary is characterized by the use of new organizational structures, so called 'network' or 'diffusion' structures. In each particular case, in every given spot we are confronted with something that seems quite small and insignificant. But if those small things are brought together it becomes evident that we do not deal with separate particular troubles.

New organizational forms are not the only ones that we are faced with. We stand up to new forms of ideology, new forms of informational psychological war as well. Moreover, the very foundation of our civilization is being attacked. We also come across quite modern and specific forms of resource self-support. We will never be able to master the situation until we admit that global crime, including drug traffic and its consequences for the world, and global terror are components of one and the same threat, one and the same civilizational challenge.

I find it important to point here to one more component of the same threat, that is separatism. Some people (I am convinced that it is true for the whole of the audience) believe that world unity will be achieved as the result of the rapprochement of the nations as world units and the national states as the structures in which these units arrange their being.

Others consider the world deeply fragmented and reunited after this fragmentation without any national borders and institutions. This model has its name — that is 'glocalization'. In other words it is the combination of the global and local. India and Russia are very complicated worlds. They are made of various components and represent the synthesis of these components — the great national cultural synthesis based on the past and directed to the future. The encroachments on this complex are evident. But do these attempts

represent multiple separate elements? Or are they a multi-faced single whole? The destiny of our nations depends on the right answer to this question.

As far as Israel is concerned, the atmosphere of chaos resulting from terrorism, separatism, international criminal subversive activity and all that I called 'glocalization' is hardly compatible with the national interests of this courageous country, which exists in a very unfavourable context.

The subject for common exploration is evident. Thus it is necessary to combine the efforts.

Preserving the unity of our countries, we pay tribute to the great politicians of the past, the great sons of our nations, the great sacrifices of our nations to the cause of the unity of the state.

Let me wish us all such a level of understanding of new challenges and threats, which would allow us to fulfill this duty in memory of our predecessors, for the sake of the present and the future of our nations and mankind.

We propose to work together through our mutual co-operation with this institute towards the common objectives to follow up this initiative for peace and prosperity. This is one of the themes identified for the Lecture-cum-Seminar Series programme timely organized in the memory of Mr P N Haksar and other like-minded individuals.

3

Shri P N Haksar: A Tribute

A R Kidwai

Honourable Prime Minister, Governor Punjab, Chief Minister, Haryana, Chief Minister Punjab, distinguished guests from abroad and India. I have the privilege to pay my tributes to the great thinker and philosopher, Shri P N Haksar, with whom I had about 30 years' association. I have the greatest regard for him, for his policy making and his scientific and academic approach to problems and issues. He used to take a decision only after an analysis of the crux of the problem, with a scientific approach. His interest was always the national interest. This was most important for him. He was a product of the national freedom movement, and of his participation in the activities of India League under the chairmanship of Shri Krishna Menon. This was the background of his activities during the days of his youth. That is why Pandit Nehru inducted him into the Foreign Service. Later Indira Ji brought him to the Prime Minister's Secretariat. I think this was a remarkable period. We witnessed his great contribution in the role he played in planning, decision-making and in formulating policies, such as the foreign policy of India, the Green Revolution, bank nationalization and in the policies associated with the creation of Bangladesh and the India-Pakistan Agreement — Shimla Agreement. These are great landmarks of his contribution.

Later he became Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission. He brought about certain changes in the Planning Commission, directed towards the improvement of its activities and its development. I can cite an example of the seriousness with which he took his responsibilities. When he retired from the PMO, I invited him to be a member of the IAS Selection Board. He took keen interest in the work. He worked eight hours a day for two months. Next year he became Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission. So we did not invite him to the Selection Board. He complained to me about it. I told him that it would have been

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too much of a burden for him. He replied, 'No, if you had invited me, I would have accepted the membership of the Selection Board in spite of my pre-occupation with the Planning Commission.' I asked him why he was so much interested in this work? He replied, 'This was the first opportunity after my days in the Foreign Service and in the PMO to interact with the younger generation. This was the first opportunity to discuss with them the problems that they were facing. How they felt about the development of the country. What were their reservations and what directions did they want?' He told me that it was the first time that he came to know what had happened on the ground, what was happening throughout the country, how were the workers, how were the farmers, how different classes of people were feeling. He thought this was very educative for him and an experience useful for him in his present job as Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission. Now, this is an example of his approach to problems, to understand what is happening at the grassroot level and take suitable action. This was the form of his academic approach to the problem. This was because he wanted to understand the reality scientifically and analyse it before taking any decision.

I have the highest regard for his patriotism and decision-making, which never failed because of this approach. I pay tribute to him for his leadership, for the inspiration he provided to his friends and colleagues and also for the objectives he had.

4
Remembering Shri P N Haksar

Subrata Banerjee

S hri P N Haksar was six years older than me. We shared the emotional and actual participation in our struggle for freedom. For us freedom did not mean liberation from British rule alone. It meant a new India free from exploitation of man by man. Socialism was a value system that Jawaharlal Nehru instilled into our consciousness. We had witnessed many historical moments and events of practically the whole of the twentieth century. All these experiences had moulded our thinking and values and world outlook to a very large extent.

Thus, when we met for the first time in 1968, there was already what Haksar loved to describe as a 'chemistry' working between us. He was then Secretary to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. What came through to me was not the personality of a very important and powerful government officer at the highest level of decision-making, a hardened bureaucrat, but a very warm, outgoing, informal and open personality. He put me at ease at the very beginning. I was surprised and found it easy to talk to him.

I was at that time Acting Editor of *The Illustrated Weekly of India*. One of the first topics that Haksar discussed with me that evening was the possibility of publishing an inexpensive illustrated news and views magazine in Hindi. He did not have in mind a less expensive version of *Dharmayuga*, a publication of the Times group. He had in mind something we had been both exposed to in the thirties and forties, *Picture Post* from the UK, a broadly left wing weekly. I realized that here was a bureaucrat who understood the importance of communication with the masses. We talk a great deal today about transparency. Haksar realized its importance more than three decades ago. Nothing, however, came of our plans for a *Picture Post* in Hindi. But, thus began a friendship that deepened over time and continued till the last days of Haksar's life.

I met him whenever I visited Delhi. My next important meeting with him was after the liberation of Bangladesh. With the beginning of the Bangladesh crisis, the Government of India had requisitioned my services to be Director of Public Relations and Information, West Bengal. After the liberation of Bangladesh, Haksar suggested that I should join the staff of the Indian High Commission at Dhaka. After a formal briefing at the Ministry of External Affairs, Haksar called me to his residence that evening for a chat. We discussed his perception of Indo-Bangladesh relations and my specific role as the Counsellor (Information). I had the task of projecting the ideology that informed the polity of India, a secular, democratic India with an independent foreign policy as expressed through non-alignment.

During my Dhaka days, my interaction with some of those involved closely with the formulation of policies of the Government-in-exile of Bangladesh and its relations with the Government of India, revealed to me some aspects of the crucial role that Haksar played in steering the path of the Government of India and the Bangladesh Government-in-exile towards a realistic and productive interaction that contributed largely to the success of securing diplomatic support for and the ultimate victory of the war of liberation. This was to my mind the finest hour for India, Indira Gandhi and that backroom boy, Parameshwar Narain Haksar. The often unobtrusive contribution of Haksar to the success of India's foreign policy of those days and the liberation of Bangladesh needs to be told. This could be possible only if the concerned papers in the Prime Minister's Office, the Historical Section of the Ministry of External Affairs and the National Archives were made available to interested scholars.

Of the three decades of my friendship with Haksar, during the last 15 years I had the privilege of working with him on *Man & Development*. He was the editor and I started off helping him select articles for publication, make the copy ready for the press and see through the production of the journal. Towards the end of his life, when he became practically blind, I had to take on the main responsibility of editing the journal, but under his very close guidance. Working with him I became conscious of his wide-ranging scholarship, his perception of contemporary events in the light of history and his dialectical approach to the analysis of events distant and past and their interconnections. What I found most inspiring was his ability to respond to changing situations and even identifying future trends. It

was through such responses to changing realities that he came to develop his concept of pluralist humanism as the value system of humanity in the future.

While working on *Man & Development* I saw how meticulous he was about what he wrote. I remember reading three versions of his autobiography, *One More Life*. Each time there were significant changes in expressions and nuances. He encouraged young contributors to *Man & Development*. He insisted that if the material was good I was to rewrite the article to make it readable and up to our standards. He wanted to see more and more contributions from the young faculty of CRR1D.

Haksar was the embodiment of Iqbal's '*Hindi hain hum, watan hai hindosthan hamara*'. This came out very clearly in his thinking on and the way he worked for the seminar on 'Towards India's Renaissance', held in 1988. He saw, in the ground realities of the contemporary world, conflict and tension of the civil society with the power structure. The issue of terrorism that we are discussing at this seminar relates directly to this question. He believed that this tension and conflict would ultimately put an end to a political, economic, social and cultural system, which the majority of the peoples of the world regard as unjust, iniquitous and lacking in moral dimensions. He dreamed of a new India in consonance with deeply rooted values of our common heritage and a common civilization, as well as ecological imperatives.

In Memory of My Father

Nandita Haksar

Mr Prime Minister, distinguished guests, I stand before you as Haksar's daughter in whose memory we have this seminar and lectures. As a feminist I do not normally like to speak as my father's daughter. But today I would very much like to speak about his memory. I have been thinking, what my father would have said on this occasion. I have been listening to the views of friends from Israel and Russia (The reference is to presentations made on the previous day by the delegates from Russia and Israel during a discussion on international terrorism. — Ed.) and I was a little disturbed because I am not sure how he would have reacted. Of course it is not for me to represent his views. I am merely his daughter. However, thinking about this topic, something which is very important for myself, I think of my father — two parts of him. As for the public part, I think he was a hard boiled diplomat. He was a bureaucrat. He talked about real politics. He knew about intelligence. He knew about international relations and he would certainly not sacrifice the real politics to opposing ideals. On the other hand, there was something naively idealistic about him, about the values, the principles, the things he talked to his daughters about. I wondered what the two have in common. Then I remembered the little dedication, which is on the wall of CRRID. I do not know whether you have had occasion to read it. I would just read the two paragraphs. It says:

> This building is dedicated to the greatness of India and her people, both at home and abroad. It embodies our collective hopes and aspirations for a ceaseless striving for truth through research.

> Above all, it is dedicated to the anonymous construction and other workers who have built and continue to build palaces, temples, mosques, gurudwaras, churches, dams and new cities.

I talked to myself and I smiled. I said, 'This was a vision which concerned building new cities, not building villages, not strengthening the village community', and it is there in the village communities that you find unemployment. The new economic policy perhaps has not reached deep into the villages to the poor. He talked about construction workers. It is this growing insecurity which, I think, he would have recognized as the basis of what has been called here terrorism. He would certainly have said that we should look into the social, economic, political causes. He certainly would have said that we have to look at it as Indians, even if we analyse global terrorism. I think, he would have said this because passionately as an Indian, he would first have said that we must look at local causes and then see how we relate to other causes and other inter-linkages.

I would very much like to speak about his memory. I was brought up with the inspiration of the Palestinian people's struggle for national self-determination. I was brought up with inspiration from the Soviet Union. I do not say this to sentimentalize. I began by saying that I would like to speak about my father, since this lecture-cum-seminar is being held in his memory. I was brought up by my father and mother with inspirations from the struggles of Palestine and Vietnam, and the inspiration was always from the Soviet Union. My father died a broken man because of two reasons — one was the collapse of the Soviet Union and secondly the Kashmir situation. On the last day before he died he was having an argument with me on why I supported the struggle for self-determination of the Kashmiri people. And when I said that it did not matter, 'the world that you belong to, does not exist', he said: 'I have cancer of the kidney, not of my brain'. I do not say this to sentimentalize. I say this to put this in a historical context. Because history is the only thing which can teach us a few lessons.

I am very disturbed that even in the conference, which we have just begun, we say that it is 9/11, which is the watershed. In fact, the USA started collecting figures on terrorism in 1968. In the 1970s the US counter-terrorism policy was based on three principles — no concession to the terrorists, isolate terrorist states and international co-operation to fight terrorism. In 1972 the UN General Assembly placed terrorism as a major concern of the United Nations. In 1976, and I say everything from official US sources, was held the first major conference on terrorism by the US State Department. The office of the Ambassador-at-large for counter-terrorism, in charge of public diplomacy, was

started on this date. His job was to 'generate greater global understanding of the threat of terrorism and efforts to resist it'. In the 1977 European Convention on Suppression of Terrorism, the word 'terrorism' was used in the preamble, but could not be defined and was not used in the body of the Act. In the 1980s, 40 to 50 institutes and think tanks were set up by the USA to try and define terrorism. In 1997 when the international community could not arrive at a legal definition of terrorism, the Secretary General of the United Nations put forward a declaration on measures to eliminate international terrorism.

I am not going to trace this any further but this is to set the background that the US concern by the end of the Vietnam war was to construct another enemy, and that enemy today is being called the Islamic threat. I would like us to mull over this word, and I was just telling Mr Akbar that if my father had heard the word 'Islamic threat', he would have been very angry. How can you relate the religion of a community or civilization with the word 'terrorism'? I think we need to have an analysis of the situation, and then set the terms of the debate. I would like to speak about my own country.

I would like to speak in a particular context, because perhaps you do not know, that I am a lawyer in the Supreme Court, and very recently I have been defending the man who was accused of attacking the Indian Parliament on 13 December 2001. He was a Delhi University teacher, a 32-year-old professor [Professor S A R Geelani] from Kashmir, the only Kashmiri Muslim in Delhi University teaching Arabic, and he was arrested, put in jail and sentenced to death. When he was sentenced to death in the lower court he had this to say: 'By convicting innocents you cannot suppress feelings. Peace comes with justice. Without justice there can be no democracy. It is Indian democracy that is under threat.' Subsequently, we fought this case and he was acquitted. There was no evidence against him. Very rarely in democratic India have we had an innocent man hanged for the crime he did not commit. It is not a question merely of an individual little mistake. I think we need to look at this whole question of nationality within the sovereign State of India. In 1947 there were 552 states within the geographical boundaries of India. And these were reduced within two short years to 15, by Sardar Patel. This was held to be the greatest achievement of Indian democracy, to reduce 552 units into 15 states. However, very soon after this we had huge violence and the first state, based on a language, Andhra Pradesh, was created. Subsequently, in every state in India,

whether it was Punjab, Tamil Nadu, or other ones, there have been movements for the creation of separate states, and sometimes for autonomy and sometimes for the language of an Indian state. Systematically from 1947 to 2005 the only prescription has been more and better laws, which means laws which violate the basic principles of human rights jurisprudence, violate human rights' standards. So we have more jails, more prisons, more torture. Today we have our army, our police being trained by the USA and Israel. So, therefore, the prescription is more high security, more people in jails, more torture, more repression and an undermining of the basic democratic structure of this country.

That is why we reached a point, on 8 February 2005, when my client, Professor S A R Geelani was shot at, there was an attempt to assassinate him outside my house. The newspapers, with the help of the police, or the police and the media, tried to implicate me, saying that I was party to his attempted murder. And I would not be vindicated because they said I had wiped out his blood, I had fabricated evidence. If this is done to someone like me, it does not work well for Indian democracy. I do not, for one moment give you this example only because it is something personal, I give it because I think that this was the first time that I saw a political assassination right at my doorstep, and this country was silent. The media was silent with the honourable exception of Mr Akbar's paper and one other newspaper.

Despite this, the only debate I wish to raise is why we are not allowed to speak about Kashmir. Why is there no debate on the issue of Kashmir's self-determination? Why my client and I were not allowed space in the media? Why a voice has become a danger, or perceived to be a danger to this democracy? Therefore, in the name of all those people who have an alternative view of democracy, I would like to put forward an alternative perspective, because in 1950 we had one armed resistance in a small state in North East India, today there is no state in India which does not have the nucleus of armed resistance. Even in Delhi we had bomb blasts just three four days ago in the main market places, where my friends and I go shopping. Therefore, all the repressive authoritarian policies of the state have failed, even if you do not hear these voices.

I want to give you one more incident. On the day when my client was attacked, I saved him. I am from a Kashmiri Hindu family, he

is from a Kashmiri Muslim family. So there was a desire on the part of a Municipal Councillor to congratulate us, to put us in a meeting of Hindu-Muslim unity. I had a meeting on that. That meeting was banned. It was to become too dangerous for a Hindu and a Muslim to be congratulated for saving each other's life. And it was banned with machine-gun toting policemen at every corner of this Muslim area.

If we look at it in another way, suppose India did offer self-domination, however defined, to the various minorities within the country, and they are not only, as Mr Akbar pointed out, Muslim. Suppose India was a more democratic country. Instead of having 15 states we had 58 states, what would be the problem? For we have had a series of peace treaties, which are false pill treaties. In 1975 we had a Kashmir Peace Treaty and we all thought that the problem was solved. And in 1990 again, the whole world heard about the Kashmiri people up in arms. Therefore, the question that I raise again, is that this whole issue of nationality within our boundary, needs to be addressed. If we look upon India as a post-colonial society then we must be clear about how we dub all these movements. Do we call every movement for self-expression and identity a terrorist movement? The same, I think, goes for the world. In 1945 there were 51 sovereign states in the world. By 1995 there were 185 sovereign states which were members of the United Nations.

We have the only academically acceptable definition of terrorism and I will give it to you because it is not translatable even in English. And I read it out:

> Terrorism is an anxiety inspiring method of repeated violent action, employed by semi-clandestine individual groups on state actors for educing it for criminal or political reasons whereby in contrast to assassination the targets of violence are not the main targets. The immediate human victims of the violence are generally chosen randomly (targets of opportunity) or selectively (representative of symbolic targets) from a target population or serve as message generators. Threat and violence-based communication process between terrorist organizations imperil victims, main targets are used to manipulate the main target audience, turning it into a target of terror, a target of demand or a target of attention, depending on whether intimidation, coercion or propaganda is primarily sought.

This is a ridiculous international consensus academic definition of terrorism. Therefore, the point I am making is, there are about 109 academic and other legal definitions and the international community from 1972 till now has not arrived at a consensus definition of terrorism, and yet they decide that they want to fight terrorism without defining it academically or legally. Then the question obviously is a political problem, which means a political solution, and a political solution means a much more academic political understanding of the sources of terrorism. I hope, and my father, may I remind you, would have hoped that this is what this seminar will achieve and not endorse the war against terror which the USA and its allies have launched, which India is becoming a part of, and which means that the entire democratic structure of India has been seriously undermined. And that does not speak well for all of us, at least for those of us who still dream about a genuine democracy, a genuine socialism, and learn from history that we have had in our countries.

As I just stand before you, and in my father's memory we have lectures, I think, he would have definitely said that the national security of India is also dependent on food security, health and education. These are very old-fashioned things but not all old-fashioned ideas are out-dated. Therefore, he would have said, 'We need to look at the deeper causes, why young people take to what we call terrorism.' Therefore, as we have discussions, I think, if we have it in his memory then we will do this honour to his memory. If we disassociate our national security from pluralism, if we disassociate national security from food security, if we disassociate national security from human rights and humanitarian concerns, it would really dishonour his memory. I think, his passion for India was something which still is very valid. I say this not because of my love for my father and love of my country, but I say this because the love for my father and love of my country, to me, cannot be dissociated. They cannot be separated. So please keep this in mind in the discussions, since these are in the honour of my father.

For a Perspective of Interdependency in South Asia*

Manmohan Singh

Ladies and Gentlemen, I am happy to be here today for more than one reason. I have fond memories of my association with the Centre for Research in Rural and Industrial Development and my association with each one of you. I am proud of the good work being done by this Centre and compliment Rashpal Malhotraji for the dedication with which he has built this institution.

I am also very happy to be here today because this conference is dedicated to the memory of a very revered and respected friend of CRRID, and of all of us, the late Shri P N Haksar. CRRID benefited immensely from his advice and guidance as the first Chairman of its Board of Governors and his role as Editor of the journal *Man & Development*.

Your conference is discussing a wide range of issues that reflect the many preoccupations of Haksarji. He was a remarkable civil servant and diplomat, who had a deep understanding of the world as well as of our complex polity. He was a scholar, statesman and a passionate believer in the role of science and technology in transforming India. He was, above all, a truly pan-Indian personality, perhaps one can even say a truly South Asian personality. His deep understanding of the region enabled him to reflect on the complex challenges facing South Asia.

I hope CRRID will devote itself to a comprehensive research project on how we can take forward the process of development and regional co-operation within South Asia. The history of the twentieth century is behind us, and its consequences are with us. We have all come to live with the reality of the new political, economic and social realities of South Asia. Positioned as we are, geographically and economically, India has a pivotal role in the region. This position brings with it both privileges and responsibilities.

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*Inaugural Address

It has often been said that one can choose one's friends but not one's neighbours. That, in itself, is not a satisfactory proposition. One must endeavour to ensure that our neighbours are also our friends. But, as they say, it takes two hands to clap. I do sincerely hope that this region shows the wisdom and foresight required of all of us to work together to reclaim for it the glory that makes us all proud of our inheritance.

I have often said that we have, in South Asia, not just shared boundaries and shared civilizational roots, but also a shared destiny. It is not just our past that binds us together, but our future too. As the two recent natural disasters — the tsunami of last year and the recent earthquake — have proved, even nature has ordained it so.

Given all these links and inter-connections, I do believe we need to invest more time and energy in working together to deal with the great challenges of our time. Be it the challenge of eliminating poverty or the challenge of fighting terrorism. The fight against poverty and terrorism in South Asia is an indivisible fight. These are threats to the life, peace and security of all our peoples and we must deal with them as such. No country can any longer pretend that some one's terrorists could be some one else's freedom fighters. No government can any longer pretend that what happens across the border is not going to hurt it internally. Be it poverty, be it disease, be it natural disasters or be it terrorism, the destiny of South Asia is interlinked and we must learn to work together to deal with these challenges.

I hope we can all approach the SAARC Summit, later this week, with this perspective in mind, a perspective of inter-dependency that strengthens our collective security and secures our collective prosperity. I am aware that we in India will be expected to take the lead in many areas. This is the privilege and responsibility I referred to earlier. I do believe that we must work with our neighbours to ensure that all nations benefit from the growth process in the region. Our neighbours must see us as a land of opportunity. Be it in education, in health care, in tourism, in trade and investment opportunities, India has the capacity and the tradition to be welcoming of its neighbours. Provided, of course, that those who visit us come as our friends and our well-wishers and bear no ill-will towards our people and our nation.

I am happy that the South Asian Free Trade Area, SAFTA, is on the anvil. This SAFTA is the first step in the evolution of SAARC as a regional trade bloc and an economic union. Most of the discussion on SAFTA centres on its favourable effect on intra-regional trade. Regional

economic integration, however, is more about finding an engine of growth rather than just for promoting trade. Countries, developed as well as developing, have looked to regional economic integration as a means of strengthening their international competitiveness and as an engine of economic growth in recent years.

Thus, European countries began with a single Common Market that keeps expanding and has gone as far as to give up their national currencies. North American countries have formed NAFTA and are moving ahead with plans for a larger Free Trade Area of Americas (FTAA). Nearer home in Asia, we have ASEAN that is emerging as an important regional grouping with the implementation of the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA). In fact, ASEAN expedited the implementation of AFTA in the wake of the East Asian Crisis of 1997 and have now set before themselves a goal of creating an ASEAN Economic Community in the coming decades. The ASEAN countries are also getting integrated with the economies of countries in the neighbourhood, namely, Japan, Korea and China and also India, through free trade agreements.

The new-found interest in such regional arrangements is based not just on trade promotion but on exploiting the potential of efficiency-seeking restructuring of industry on a pan-regional basis. This would have income and efficiency effects and hence could be valuable drivers of growth. The experience of European Union suggests that the formation of the single European market led to a substantial restructuring of industry on a pan-European basis and hence enabled it to exploit economies of scale, scope and specialization. The efficiency seeking restructuring unleashed by the process of economic integration has helped in convergence of income levels between richer EU members (e.g., Germany) and poorer ones (Spain, Portugal and Greece).

Given the strong trends towards economic integration, which go far beyond tariff reductions to gradual economic convergence, any region can ignore the formation of its own scheme of regional integration only at its peril. By removing trade policy barriers, SAFTA would lead to an estimated trebling of intra-regional trade on a conservative estimate. This would make South Asian internal trade more respectable compared to a marginal four to five per cent share, as of now. By making it possible to trade directly rather than through third countries, it would also lead to cost savings for the region.

However, we must see SAFTA as the forerunner of deeper economic integration in the region. The limited experience with trade liberalization that South Asia has had so far in the framework of SAPTA or bilateral FTAs, has already had a beneficial impact. The Indo-Sri Lanka bilateral FTA, for instance, even within a short period of less than three years of implementation, has led to a lot of dynamism in bilateral trade and investment flows. Thus an Indian tyre company set up a large export-oriented tyre plant in Sri Lanka to cater to its growing markets in Pakistan, Middle East and other countries, taking advantage of abundant supply of natural rubber in the country. The World Investment Report 2003 by UNCTAD has highlighted how Sri Lanka attracted Indian investments of US$ 145 million in a very short period, making India the third largest source of investments for the island. Similarly, the India-Nepal FTA of 1996 spurred many Indian companies to shift production of common consumer goods for the North Indian market to Nepal. As a result, these items emerged as some of the most important items of Nepal's exports to India.

The other lesson that comes out of recent experiences of regional economic integration in South Asia, as elsewhere, is that the smaller and poorer countries benefit more from RTAs, as their trade becomes more balanced. An example is the India-Sri Lanka FTA which has benefited Sri Lanka. This success has prompted Sri Lanka to seek to expand the scope of the India-Sri Lanka FTA to cover investments and services in a comprehensive economic partnership agreement.

Regional economic integration will also make member countries, especially the smaller ones, more attractive destinations for third country investments by obviating the constraint imposed by a small domestic market. Studies have shown that the opportunity cost of non-co-operation for South Asian countries has been substantial. Regional economic integration in South Asia could generate billions of dollars of new income, employment, trade and could help the region in its fight against poverty.

Thus, SAFTA may help in evolving a horizontal specialization across the region to enable the most optimal utilization of the synergies between member countries for their mutual advantage. SAFTA is a step in the right direction. However, to exploit its full potential we need to complete the process of SAFTA expeditiously, complement it by a SAARC Investment Area and move on to deepen it further by forming a SAARC Customs Union and then gradually to an economic union.

SAARC could also evolve a forum for annual meetings of economic or industry ministers to facilitate discussion on exploitation of complementarities in their economies for mutual advantage.

SAARC should also take steps to improve physical connectivity by road, railways, inland waterways and shipping and air links to exploit the advantages of geographical proximity. They could evolve a common SAARC Transport Policy to facilitate movement of goods across the region.

Energy co-operation presents immense potential. To promote regional co-operation in the area of energy a South Asian Energy Dialogue, comprising experts, academics, environmentalists, bureaucrats and NGOs could examine the potential for energy co-operation and suggest measures to exploit this potential. These are just some of the ideas that are worth pursuing. There are many more, especially in the sphere of education, health care, tourism and disaster management. Institutes like yours must do the required research to work out the costs and benefits of such projects and programmes so that policy makers can take more informed decisions. More importantly, your professional research can help create the required public opinion and convince skeptics, so that governments are better empowered in pursuing new initiatives.

The time has come for a new vision, a new commitment and a new sense of purpose in South Asia and I hope we have the political will and wisdom to seize the moment. I hope your conference will discuss some of these issues freely and frankly, bringing professional opinion to bear on the deliberations.

Thank you.

Regional and Global Terrorist Threats:
The Way Out

Regional and Global Terrorist Threats: The Way Out

Vyacheslav I Trubnikov

First of all I would like to extend my sincere thanks to the Centre for Research in Rural and Industrial Development for inviting me to the beautiful city of Chandigarh to participate in this international seminar and to address and chair today's session on the theme of a very relevant topic and pressing issue of modern time, 'Regional and Global Terrorist Threats: the Way Out'.

Terrorism is a destructive phenomenon affecting all states and societies. Present-day international terrorism has been repeatedly manifesting its abominable features, trampling on fundamental moral values, showing scorn for the value of human life and violating of the basic rights of every man. The cunning and cruel criminals choose for themselves the easiest target — the ordinary citizen — and strike precisely when there is a chance to kill as many people as possible. Terrorism has no nationality and anybody may be its perpetrator. The terrorist groups all over the world act with the same global criminal aims, led by a man-hating ideology. This is a kind of veritable 'terrorist international'. Wherever terrorist acts may occur today they are links in one and the same chain, parameters of one threat, international in its essence. All these hallmarks could be seen in all recent terrorist acts in London, Moscow, Beslan, Dagestan, Kabardino-Balkaria, New York, Madrid, Istanbul, on Bali Island in Indonesia, in Egypt, Israel, Afghanistan, Iraq and many other places of the world and, of course, during the recent terrorist attacks in New Delhi's crowded markets on the eve of the popular festivals of Diwali and Id, where we again faced an unprecedented form of outrageous barbarism, when innocent men, women, even children became victims of the bandits.

Terror is absolutely incompatible with the principles of morality and humanity, democracy and freedom. In order to achieve their criminal goals terrorists are challenging the very foundations of

civilization. Hence, the sole conclusion: it is impossible and useless to negotiate with this mortally dangerous and insane enemy. It has to be fought and, most important, it has to be defeated. Combating this global menace confronting the world community is only possible through joint efforts of all states.

To achieve this unity, the world must first and foremost abandon double standards with regard to terror. There are no 'good' or 'bad' terrorists and their motives, whether political, ideological or religious, cannot serve as a justification for their actions. Neither the perpetrators of terrorist acts, nor their inspirers and sponsors, direct or indirect, must escape punishment. But what do we see today? I will give just a few examples.

On the territories of a number of countries the Internet sites of Chechen terrorists continue to function. Sweden, well known for its democratic traditions and pledging its active involvement in the international anti-terrorist coalition, gives shelter within its territory to such 'mass media' as the site 'Kavkaz-Center,' which is openly inciting violence and fomenting inter-ethnic and inter-faith strife. Such sites are periodically being opened, closed and again opened. Now it turns out that in some cases the terrorists get that opportunity because of the kind disposition of the authorities. The ABC Television Network telecast in the USA of an interview with terrorist Basayev, who is on the UN terrorist list, is also beyond our comprehension. There is only one way to interpret it, admittedly to our surprise, that we have encountered the obvious fact of abetment of the advocacy of terrorism and direct calls for violence against Russians from the friendly United States' territory. Following the terrorist attack in Nalchik, the propagandist of terrorism and terrorist firebrand Zakayev, who found shelter in London, has again publicly supported terror and the barbaric actions of the terrorists in Kabardino-Balkaria. He openly and impudently calls for violence, for killing peaceful Russian citizens, and uses freedom of speech in Britain to justify and glorify terrorism. He does that, enjoying the hospitality of a country, which is one of our leading partners in the anti-terrorist coalition. How is that possible? I do not understand, but do hope that the situation will finally change, following the adoption of the very important UNSC Resolution 1624 (by the way, on Britain's initiative), which calls on all the states to suppress, legislatively and in practice, incitement to terrorism. In the last few years Russia repeatedly demanded from a number of states the adoption of measures in the light of the fact that non-governmental foundations and organizations

operating within their territories were giving financial support to the Chechen terrorists. Our requests to extradite certain persons against whom there is conclusive and serious evidence of grave crimes and involvement in bandit gangs, have not found response so far. Double standards lead to double losses — at home and abroad — where terrorists can count on moral support from outside. I am convinced that as long as such double-dealing and attempts to flirt with terrorists and redirect them against a neighbour continue, terrorists will further look for the differences in our positions, find cracks in them, thus weakening the global anti-terrorist coalition.

The fight against terror should be based on a clear strategy, effective institutional mechanisms and adequate legal systems, and there is no alternative to the UN in shaping such a global anti-terrorist structure. Today Russia and India are among the most active members of the global anti-terrorist coalition and share similar political principles of participation in it. We have made considerable contribution to strengthening the international legal basis for the anti-terrorist struggle. The recent adoption of the International Convention on the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism by the UNGA was the result of a vigorous effort by both the Russian and Indian sides. In initiating, supporting and finally signing this Convention, Russia's logic was utterly clear. Considering the aggressive tactics of terrorists, aimed at achieving the greatest possible number of victims among the civilian population, it is necessary to take all measures to create a formidable barrier which will not let terrorists gain possession of weapons of mass destruction (WMD). It is understandable that the greatest threat to security may be posed by acts of nuclear terrorism. Russia has always been an active supporter of the worldwide strengthening of the non-proliferation regime and the fight against nuclear terrorism. I would like to remind you that we were among the initiators of Resolution 1540, aimed at preventing WMEV and their components falling into wrong hands. This Convention gives a legal basis for effective counteraction against acts of nuclear terrorism. It is very important that the Convention secures the inevitable punishment of persons guilty of committing such acts on the basis of the principle: 'either extradite or prosecute'.

Now Russia and India continue joint work to achieve a breakthrough on the draft Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism, initiated by India. We are convinced that with the adoption of this Comprehensive Convention the international legal

base for combating terrorism would be greatly reinforced. Unfortunately, some unresolved questions still remain; primarily the differences in definition of the term 'terrorism'. So far, the controversy revolves around whether 'the struggle of peoples for independence against foreign occupation and for national self-determination' should be regarded as terrorist activity. This is not a simple question, but Russia offers a solution which is based on salient facts. Whatever is in contention should be left aside. The obvious point is that any violence directed against innocent people, against civilians, any indiscriminate violence for whatsoever purpose by whomsoever and wherever, is terrorism. By the way, the UNSC resolutions and twelve conventions, which have already been passed, contain many references to this definition. For example, I have already mentioned the recently-adopted resolution, which criminalizes incitement to terrorism, and the resolution which was passed a year ago on Russia's initiative in the wake of the Beslan tragedy have a very important provision that there can be no justification for terrorism. More specifically, attempts by terrorists to use terrorist acts for the purpose of changing the policy of states or international organizations were also condemned. All these aspects with regard to the notion of 'terrorism' are already reflected in international law.

Russia is convinced that the creation of a consolidated 'anti-terrorist list' would enhance the effectiveness of the fight against terrorism. We consider the present 'anti-terrorist list' of the UN Security Council far from complete, since it limits itself only to Al Qaeda, Taliban and those associated with them. It should be an overall extensive list of persons against whom the sanctions regime would be operative, envisaging a clampdown on their financing channels. In fact, the idea of such a list was set into UNSC Resolution 1566, passed after the Beslan tragedy. We are convinced that not a single terrorist must escape the deserved punishment and that all the channels of aid or abetment in any form to the terrorists must be closed. Regrettably, in the 'anti-terrorist list' we could not find certain persons who have committed crimes against Russians and who, to our amazement, feel quite comfortable in some western countries and continue to engage in destabilizing the situation in Chechnya and North Caucasus, in fund-raising and the recruitment of mercenaries for waging the dirty war against the Chechen people and Russia as a whole. Unfortunately, extremists not directly linked to Al Qaeda are becoming more active in various regions of the world now. This calls for stronger co-operation of

states with the 1267 Sanctions Committee, 1540 Committee and the Counter-Terrorism Committee of the UN Security Council.

India is our closest ally in the fight against terrorism. Our bilateral interaction in this sphere has reached a very high level of trust and coordination in the last few years, thanks to the very productive activity of the relevant Joint Working Groups. Recently a new channel of co-operation has been opened with India acquiring the status of observer in the Shanghai Co-operation Organization (SCO). The recent meeting of the Council of the Heads of Government of the SCO member states in Moscow this October has demonstrated India's determination to be a very active partner in the Organization.

Now, as never before, the unity and solidarity of the international community are necessary in the face of the threat of terrorism. Speaking at the 60th session of the UN General Assembly on 15 September 2005, Russian President Vladimir Putin said: 'It is necessary to use not only states' resources but, most importantly, the large opportunities offered by civil society, mass media, cultural and educational co-operation, and inter-confessional dialogue to oppose ideologues that preach a clash of civilizations, and terrorist aggression.' Terrorism is born not so much on a material field as in the soul of an individual. It is exactly for the soul that we must fight in the early stages; this is a new problem of the interrelationship of religion and the state, including the system of education, culture and national traditions. I would like to note that Russia is prepared to go even further in countering the ideology and propaganda of terrorism, and the various forms of its glorification, by emphasizing within this framework not only the considerable responsibility of states, but also of civil society, including the mass media. I am certain that we shall come to this without infringing on fundamental democratic freedoms, with reliance upon the broadest sections of the international public.

I believe that through seminars like this we promote awareness of the public and create a stronger popular base for combating terrorism. Undoubtedly, new approaches and novel ideas on how to tackle this pressing issue will be reflected in the deliberations of the seminar which, I am convinced, will contribute to the cause of peace and international security.

In conclusion, I would like to thank once again the esteemed organizers and participants of the seminar and wish it great success.

Terrorism: For a Framework Towards a Solution

S F Rodrigues

Dignitaries, Ladies and Gentlemen, it is my privilege to be here with you today, specially because we are tackling the question of terrorism — a subject that I feel is relevant for all of us, in various degrees. There is no way of looking at the problem of terrorism from any one prism, any one angle or whatever, because the rationale for it covers a wide spectrum of cause and effect. What I can do, is to initiate this discussion by taking you to its genesis and, in about ten minutes, try to pull this canvas together, so that we have a common platform for discussion. I would like to suggest that if we are to get the maximum benefit out of this interaction, then we will have to limit the time for interventions. This cannot be a platform for any one point of view, attitude, ideology or even objective. It is more a question of harmonizing conflicting requirements, conflicting compulsions, and conflicting backgrounds, to achieve a common objective. That ultimately must be our aim.

Yesterday (the reference is to discussion on the previous day on international terrorism — Ed.) I talked about this delightful analysis by Toynbee, back in 1952, where he tried to pull all these disparate strands together, to establish why there is a certain inevitability about what was going on then and what was going to happen in the years to come. In that process there are a few salient facts which I think either we are not aware of, or which were not given enough importance. Because when this process started, when we talk about the Greco-Judean religions, the compulsion that they laboured under, the areas of agreement and disagreement, of disharmony between the Confucian and Buddhism's dreams, and the third major grouping, which was, of course Hinduism, the joke was, if you can call it a joke and not a tragedy, that the main protagonists, the Christian as well as the Islamic traditions, were derived from the same Greco-Judean system. It is not as if they were independent of each other. You can call them aberrations, call them

variations, whatever you want. Here we come across another anomaly, that in Russia, you had a Christianity, which had its origin in Constantinople. So there was a traditional schism between it and the Church of Rome. That manifests itself in a lot of ways. However, the point that Toynbee made across the board — I am talking about 1952 — is that for the previous 450 years every cataclysmic change in the history of the world was either promoted, encouraged, or derived from policies and compulsions within the West. Now he did not specify one particular country. He called them 'Franks' because that was a generic term by which they were known.

What are we talking about? A very small example. In the seventh century, the intransigence and non-willingness to change of the Christian Church, led to the growth of Islam, right across India, Algeria, Africa and the world. Subsequently, in the fifteenth century they attacked India and took over a major part. That is one. The other one is that after the invasion of Russia, the re-drawing of its borders created huge problems which were addressed centuries later. All this led to aggravation and antagonism. Let me just take one more case. After 1498, when the Mughals had finally established themselves, the Portuguese, as you are aware, in 1510 established themselves in Goa. The Portuguese more or less built on what the Mughals had already achieved, because they introduced a whole series of reforms and what not. That more or less lasted till the eighteenth-nineteenth centuries and was taken over by the British later. Let me just give you one fact, that possibly you do not know anything about. We are the only major country in the world that has been subjected to this sort of thing for such a long period of time. It impacted on every aspect of our lives — religion, culture, education, attitude, our behavioural pattern, our societal pre-compulsions — because everything revolved around this particular presence. Everybody knows how Macaulay decided to create the westernized oriental gentleman, which is the category in which most of us find ourselves today. We had to evolve, develop, adjust, modify, if we wanted to survive. So we do have some knowledge of all this.

If we look at history again, in 1918 there was no single Islamic country which was not dominated by somebody else. Even in the case of those who may have had a semblance of independence, every string, every controlling interest was held by somebody else. As each of them grew in stature, strength, pride, they then had the almost compulsive need to determine their own destiny. They ended up with a fragmented

Islam, with pockets all over the world, in countries which had absolutely no relationships relevant to them, where they were stranded because of compulsions of economics, possibly sometimes of antagonism, and they suffered from that feeling of deprivation that was created by the perception that they were essential for certain inferior services. There was no way they could break this particular barrier and join the mainstream. This is the major problem we are faced with today. It is not only happening here, it is happening everywhere in the world. Either this, or a variation on this theme.

Now when we talk of terrorism, yesterday I made this point about M J Akbar's talk on 9 September. He talked very frankly about all these things and the question of Islamic terrorism, and he asked, 'If I disagree with you why am I taken to be adversarial? Could I perhaps, be making a cry for help? Is it a cry of despair? Is it time somebody listened to us, or are we to be taken for granted, for the rest of our lives?' These are questions that we have to ask ourselves, but we come up across a very major problem. It is very simple, that if you are satisfied with the superficial, it permits you to carry on, in your own merry way, without doing anything substantive to redress the problem, because you do not accept the problem exists. We talk of it as an aberration, we talk of it as something else. How do you justify the fact that people who are academics, people who presumably have got certain objectivity in their perceptions, have got it so terribly wrong? Is it because we are talking at each other and not to each other?

Why am I asking questions like this? Because I have been involved in this for most of my adult life, in the army. You are telling us about dangers and problems that we have been facing, I do not know how long. And the very simple question that I have to ask myself is, why did it have to take 9/11, for people to understand the sort of thing we were faced with? And why did it take what happened in the UK now and what happened in Spain earlier? There was a time when you had aberrations like the Bader Meinhoff, or the Red Brigade and Bakunin and what not. But those were seen as lunatics. The 'lunatic fringe', presumably doing something, desperately wanting to be noticed. I do not think that was the manifestation of any serious incongruity, or imbalance in the structure of our society.

However, as we see people's expectations rise, as we understand the ways of the media, and the way people's minds are being influenced, or remain able to be influenced, I think we have got to re-invent ourselves. I made this point yesterday. We cannot be satisfied

with mid-course corrections. I am increasingly of the opinion that we have to sit down — the people who know, the people who care, those who are not in the business of just managing but of changing—to sit down, talk to each other, address what is in our psyche, what are the motivations that are driving us to this sort of abrasive behaviour. Is it impossible for us to comprehend it, or is it that we have not made enough attempts to do that? These are the questions that I would like to pose to you today. I do not know the answers. Very frankly I do not think that there is anybody in the world who knows the answers, because here we come up across a very interesting phenomenon.

A few years back there was a clash — I do not know how to describe this clash — between competing academics in Delhi, because you all have your milieu, you have your own battle-lines, you have your own rules of engagement in the West. But in this particular scenario it reached the Delhi High Court and there was one particular phrase that struck in my consciousness. It said 'intellectual robber Baron', because we are being assaulted by people whose objective is to mould opinion, and this has been done in different ways, over the years. However, what is happening now includes a certain degree of sophistication, because instead of buying, opinions are moulded or created by think tanks. I can commission seminars, workshops and what not, and make sure that the discussions are guided in a certain way. I suppose that is also possible. And the rewards are that you are put on a certain list of invitees, and participate here and in various forums, there. Somebody said to me, if we carry on having all these seminars and workshops and we go down there and everyone saying the same thing, what do we achieve? I said yes, that exactly is the problem. But instead of just being correct politically, academically, socially, I think we need to graduate to the next level, to establish some sort of a forum, some sort of a platform, where we can continue to interact, but end up with a certain game-plan, action-plan, examine their validity in the next meeting and generally make sure that we formulate the sort of response which is relevant and achievable, in the present context. The world cannot carry on the way it is now.

Here we come across another problem. For those of you who have not come across it yet, may I suggest, with all sincerity, that you read a book that was released in Brazil in January at the World Social Forum by a gentleman called John Perkins. It is called *The Confessions of an Economic Hit Man*. You will be amazed, as I was, at the reach, the ramification of this endeavor. And how it manifests itself in different

fields. You would be amazed at the length to which they are prepared to go, to achieve their objectives. And when we look at our response — fragmented, isolated, totally self-serving — it shows we are not equipped to cope with that sort of an endeavour.

All that I am trying to suggest to you is, if we could establish, in this session, that we have a problem and at least work out some sort of a framework to take this whole process forward, because we agree on the need to find a solution, if we could identify possibly two, three, four, five roots to that endeavor, then I think we will be doing our duty, by whoever sent us here and whoever has trusted us with their lives and with their futures. I think I have said enough, but may I please make a request? I am going to throw this open for discussion, and I would like you all to focus on the relevant issues to the extent possible. No restrictions on what you want to say. Please do not emphasize what all of us are aware of. This is not a forum for recrimination. It is a forum for hope. I would like to feel that we all subscribe to this particular desire. We are getting an opportunity. We have been presented with a blank canvas. Have we got the vision, the statesmanship, the perspicacity and one more phrase, the magnanimity of spirit, that we need, to get together to paint a new picture?

Global War on Terrorism: A Reappraisal

M S Agwani

Terrorist attacks have been occurring with greater or lesser frequency and intensity in different parts of the world since about the late 1960s. Among the countries deeply affected are Britain, Palestine, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Russia, the United States, Algeria and India. With the notable exception of the United States, the issues in question have been of a local rather than international character and have arisen out of a variety of backgrounds.

A cursory glance at the latter would show that each has had a distinct origin, support base, tactics and goals of its own. In the case of Britain, the Irish Republican Army (IRA), which had long been fighting for the unification of Northern Ireland with the Republic of Ireland, rose to prominence in the 1960s when it started unleashing a spate of bombings, assassinations and other acts of violence including an attack on the British Cabinet at Brighton in 1984.

Organized Palestinian struggle for restoration of national rights began with the founding of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) uniting several existing groups in 1964 and grew in intensity after the June 1967 Arab-Israeli war resulting in the military occupation of the West Bank and Gaza by Israel. Faced with the creeping colonization of Palestinian agricultural lands and water resources and other violations of international law by Israel, the PLO countered by attacking Jewish settlements and other Israeli targets. As Israel mounted strong counter-attacks, an extremist Palestinian group called Hamas (literally, zeal), relying mostly on guerrilla tactics and terrorist violence, began to attract a growing following and media attention.

The LTTE (Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam) in Sri Lanka is at present considered the most formidable guerrilla force in the world. It had its origins in the majoritarian policies of the state, which evidently opted for a military solution of the problem instead of a political

settlement with moderate Tamil parties seeking protection of Tamil rights. The resulting ethnic conflict has claimed more than 60,000 lives since 1983.

It is now nearly a decade since the Maoists of Nepal launched an armed struggle against the country's oppressive feudal order, which successive regimes in Kathmandu have done little to redress. The Maoists have raised around 10,000 hardened guerrillas and currently control a good part of Nepal's countryside. Their goal is to replace the monarchical order with an egalitarian republic.

In the early years after the dissolution of the Soviet Union there was no organized violence in Chechnya, situated in the Caucasian region of Russia. The Chechens are a small mountain people with a chequered history of resistance to Russian power as well as pragmatic accommodation with it. Despite their intense love of freedom they are not known to have been religious zealots in the past. As one observer puts it, the Chechens would 'almost certainly give up the hope of independence for a peaceful existence in the Russian State if only the Russians would guarantee their basic rights'. But Russia's ham-fisted policies, including rigged elections, created a deep chasm.[1] The Chechens took up arms and the gruesome conflict attended by large-scale deaths and destruction continues unabated.

Algeria's independence in 1962 was followed by a one-party dictatorship under the Front for National Liberation (FLN). A protracted rule by the FLN, without accountability and plagued by a diminishing capacity to deliver development, aroused widespread opposition led by the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) since the late 1980s. The government eventually agreed to hold elections but scuttled the process after the first round, as the FIS appeared to be forging ahead in the electoral battle. As a result, the country plunged into a violent conflict.

Nearer home, separatist violence in Jammu and Kashmir erupted in the late 1980s, partly due to cross-border terrorism fanned by Pakistan, but more importantly caused by what many in the state perceived as denial of democracy. The latter factor gained greater credence after what was widely seen as rigging of the assembly elections of 1987. In the first 12 years of terrorist violence in the state, around 12,400 civilians got killed. Of late, there are signs of some respite. Balraj Puri, a seasoned observer of the Kashmir scene for several decades, cites two main reasons why the militants are on the retreat

currently: first, the assembly elections of the year 2000 provided the first ever opportunity to change the state government through the ballot, and second, the militant movement had reached a stage when it started consuming its own children. Notable examples of the latter were the killing of Maulvi Farooq in 1990 and of Abdul Ghani Lone in 2000.[2]

Terrorist activities in Jammu and Kashmir sometimes attract greater media attention than those affecting larger swathes of the country in its eastern, southern and western regions. A recent report in a New Delhi weekly[3] speaks of the '14 *spokes of a revolution*', covering terrorist movements in Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Tripura, Nagaland, West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh, Chattisgarh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Tamil Nadu, Jharkhand, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. Unlike in Jammu and Kashmir, most of the terrorists active in these areas, with the exception of the Students Islamic Movement of India (SIMI), 'are not Muslims but Dalits, Adivasis and other marginalized sections of society often led by middle class comrades steeped in the teachings of Marx and Mao'. The report further states that in Andhra Pradesh alone 10,000 people have been killed as a result of terrorist and counter-terrorist actions since the 1980s, and many more elsewhere.

What fuels these armed rebellions? Sumanta Banerjee, author of *India's Simmering Revolution*, points out that it is in some of the most backward parts of India that Naxals have a grip on the rural poor. And this is 'because of the failure of the state to tackle the socio-economic origins of their poverty'. 'I believe', asserts Banerjee, 'the biggest achievement of these groups has been to keep the issues like land distribution on the agenda.'[4]

Dwelling upon the subject of terrorism in the Indian context one more point needs to be made. Some time back the *New York Times* columnist Thomas Friedman had posed the question why so many Muslims in the Arab countries join Al Qaeda but not in India. The answer, he said, lay in India being a secular democracy. However, the horrendous instance of extensive communal violence in parts of Gujarat in the early months of 2002 should leave no room for complacency about the health and vigour of our secular polity. It is important to note in this context that organizations like the SIMI, which became active in Maharashtra after the Gujarat carnage, are driven neither by regional logic like the Northeast groups nor by class deprivation like the Naxals, but by a feeling of persecution that finds expression in minority extremism[5].

The foregoing account should make it abundantly clear that there is no single-factor explanation for the incidence of terrorism in different parts of the world and that in most cases they arose out of internal causes. However, the case of the United States appears to be atypical in that almost all terrorist acts directed against it in recent years are by-products of its interventionist policies abroad, especially in the West Asian region. The US response to these acts is, therefore, conditioned by its vision of a global role rather than by domestic developments.

A hard look at the background of 9/11 attacks in New York and Washington by Islamist terrorists will elucidate this point. As a starting point, one might ask how the term 'Jihad' in the sense of 'holy war' came into vogue in contemporary international politics. It may be recalled that none of the political battles for independence in the West Asian countries after the Second World War was fought in the name of Islam. Both Dr. Mohammed Musaddiq of Iran and Egypt's Gamal Abdul Nasser had struggled under the banner of nationalism. In the 1960s, when Palestinian groups such as Yasser Arafat's Al- Fatah and Geroge Habash's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, under the umbrella organization called the PLO, took up arms against Israeli occupation, their battle cries too were couched in secular terms. And the groundwork for the Iranian revolution against the Shah was prepared largely by a coalition of predominantly nationalist and left-wing groups; but its fruits were cornered by the clergy because of the former's ineptitude as well as inability to throw up a leader of the stature of Khomeini.

More importantly, throughout the early decades of the Cold War, the United States had banked on Islam as an ideological ally in the global fight against atheistic communism. And even after Khomeini's Iran emerged as an adversary of America, the latter encountered no difficulty in enlisting the support of assorted Islamist groups from Pakistan and several Arab countries to launch a proxy war under the banner of Islam against the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. Armed and trained by the United States, bankrolled by Saudi Arabia and coordinated by Pakistan, this well-orchestrated enterprise was given the name of 'Jihad'. America thus earned the debatable distinction of being the pioneer of Jihad in the post-colonial era. By a curious coincidence, Osama bin Laden and many others who provided

inspiration and support to the perpetrators of 9/11 had cut their Jihadi teeth in the caves and ravines of Afghanistan.

A fateful fallout of this Jihad was the simmering distrust of America in the minds of its Islamist allies in Afghanistan. As fighting progressed, it began to dawn on the Islamist groups that the United States was solely interested in giving the Soviets a bloody nose in Kabul and that saving Afghanistan was the least of its concerns. Pakistan's military intelligence, on the other hand, was seen as cultivating certain Afghan factions with the ultimate aim of turning Afghanistan into a client state. What troubled the Arab Islamists more was the unfolding of grim developments in their own region. Under American proddings, Egypt's Anwar Sadat had concluded a separate peace with Israel leaving the Palestinians at the latter's mercy. In 1982, Israel launched a full-scale invasion of Lebanon culminating in the gruesome massacre of some 2000 Palestinian refugees in the camps of Sabra and Shatila. Subsequently, as the Israelis withdrew, American troops landed in Beirut. How these events influenced the minds of some Arab Jihadists fighting in Afghanistan can be gleaned from the following extract from bin Laden's videotaped message to American voters on the eve of the 2004 presidential election:

The events that influenced me directly trace back to 1982 and subsequent events when the United States gave permission to the Israelis to invade Lebanon, with the aid of the Sixth Fleet. At those difficult moments, many meanings that are hard to describe went on in my mind. However, these meanings produced an overwhelming feeling to reject injustice and generated a strong determination to punish the unjust ones.

While I was looking at those destroyed towers in Lebanon, it occurred to me to punish the unjust ones in a similar manner by destroying towers in the United States so that it would feel some of what we felt and be deterred from killing our children and women.[6]

It is necessary here to add that while not many Arabs seem to subscribe to the extreme ways of Al Qaeda and similar outfits, the feeling that for several decades the Arabs have been at the receiving end of America's wayward moves on the West Asian chessboard is widely shared in the Arab world. As political scientist Hasan Nafaa of Cairo University puts it, the Arab rage is not against America or Americans,

but 'American policies.' This is corroborated by a senior intelligence officer of the United States with two-decades long experience in West Asia, who holds that Al Qaeda 'targets America for what it does, not for what it is'.[7] Protestations to the contrary emanating from Washington cannot falsify this judgement.

The evidence on what caused 9/11 points to the twofold policy of the United States to lend, in the first place, virtually unconditional support not merely to Israel's security but its territorial conquests as well. Washington turned a blind eye to systematic eviction of Palestinians from their lands and homes to make room for illegal Jewish settlements and to the reign of terror frequently unleashed on the Palestinians in the occupied territories. Moreover, America has coyly connived at Israel's nuclear arsenal but wantonly invaded Iraq in pursuit of non-existent weapons of mass destruction.

Secondly, the United States has built, over the decades, a consistent record of buttressing despotic and authoritarian regimes willing to uphold American interests. To date, this has fructified into a full-scale Pax Americana encompassing the vast region from Morocco to Iraq. The kingpin of this edifice has long been Saudi Arabia whose explosive mix of abundant oil wealth, puritanical brand of Islam called Wahhabism, and unbridled family rule, has turned it into a nursery of religious extremism. No wonder 15 out of the 19 men directly involved in 9/11 hailed from Saudi Arabia. So does Osama bin Laden. It, therefore, stands to reason that had America been at all serious to combat terrorism it would have started with Saudi Arabia.

What then are the lessons that one can learn from the myriad manifestations of terrorism and the responses thereto that have been examined in the foregoing pages? The one point that emerges clearly is that any search for a unified theory of terrorism would be futile because there is no single well-spring of its diverse instances across the globe. Feeble attempts made since 9/11 to produce such a theory have apparently come to naught. Condoleezza Rice, then National Security Adviser to the American President, theorized that the traumatic experience of 2001 had opened a new era in international affairs analogous to 1945 to 1947 which led to the outbreak of the Cold War. A more realistic appraisal made a year later by the prestigious Carnegie Endowment for International Peace concluded that from the perspective of the rest of the world 9/11 did not look like 'such a transforming event'.[8] But Rice's proposition still seems to hold sway in

official Washington. In a comment made shortly before his sudden death, but days after 7/7 terrorist blast in the London underground, former British foreign secretary Robin Cook saw the American war on terror as a substitute for the Cold War. As he put it:

The spirit of the Cold War lives on in the minds of those who cannot let go fear and who need an enemy to buttress their own identity. Hence the vacuum left by the Cold War has been filled by George Bush's global war on terror. It is tragically true that terrorism, partly as a result, is now a worse threat than ever before. [9]

It is hardly necessary to add that far from being global the challenge of terrorism encountered by the United States stems mainly from its West Asia policies. As such it is amenable to political rather than military solutions. As the outcome of the American-led invasion of Iraq shows, excessive reliance on physical force can only make Washington's problems intractable.

Another lesson one can draw is that any attempt to understand the terrorists is not tantamount to rewarding them. Conversely, the assumption that a strictly punitive response can make them give up is not borne out by evidence. In reality, as David Clark, a former British Labour Government adviser, shows, while few terrorist organizations have succeeded in attaining their strategic goals their acts did eventually persuade governments to address genuine grievances which the terrorists exploit. He cites the example of the Malayan communists who failed to establish a 'dictatorship of the proletariat' but the British came round to promote land reform and concede independence. Likewise, the IRA did not succeed is uniting Ulster with Ireland but the Northern Irish Catholics did win the civil and political rights which should never have been denied. Again, the Basques have won territorial autonomy within Spain and as a result their guerrilla outfit ETA[10] has collapsed. 'In each case,' says Clark, 'the terrorists failed in their objective and the authorities conceded no more than what was right.' And he rightly concludes that 'those who indulge in condemnation to the exclusion of everything else have failed to produce a single useful policy prescription' that might deal more effectively with the terrorist threat. [11]

In the Indian context, the same point is emphatically made by Julio Ribeiro, who stands out for his first-hand experience of

successfully tackling terrorism. He clearly holds that 'no state has ever eliminated terrorism without winning the hearts and minds of communities from which the terrorists come', and warns that 'military action alone will not solve the problem'. He cites the example of Israel whose 'harshest response to terrorism in recent times', involving large-scale incursions in Palestinian territory and destruction of property and disruption of life has succeeded only in provoking increased numbers of Palestinian suicide bombing right inside the Israeli heartland.[12]

In sum, while no state worth its salt can give in to terror and intimidation, it must simultaneously address the underlying causes of each case in a spirit of empathy and justice. The alternative course of relying solely on force in dealing with terrorism is most likely to yield negative results. Moreover, the notion of a global war on terror is more of rhetoric than reality.

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10

Global Terrorism and its Impact and Implications for Various Regions

Talat Masood

The events of 11 September 2001 were indeed a defining moment in world history. It shook the United States, the 'hyperpower', making it realize that it was no longer immune from the scourge of terror. Although state and group terrorism is not new to South Asia, Afghanistan, Central Asian republics, the Middle East, North and West Africa, parts of Russia and Caucasus countries and Southeast Asia, or for that matter Spain and the United Kingdom, yet due to its enlarged scope and reach it has become a global phenomenon and the greatest challenge of our times. Its impact and implications reverberate in practically every part of the world in one form or the other.

Whereas the impact and implications of global terrorism for different regions may vary in scope and magnitude, certain common characteristics have emerged which have a universal applicability.

The United States fiercely and combatively reacted to 9/11, which, as an initial response was understandable. Geography, conventional and nuclear military superiority, economic power and political clout had given it an extraordinary sense of confidence, which was brutally shaken. The world too was by and large sympathetic and supportive of the United States' attack on Afghanistan. It was equally eager to see the removal of the notorious Taliban regime and US efforts at breaking up the sanctuaries that were giving refuge to Al Qaeda. But the retaliatory impulse was seized by the current leadership of the United States as an extraordinary opportunity to shape the world and particularly the Middle East in accordance with its worldview. When the militaristic impulse to fight terrorism got intertwined with its imperialist ambitions, a major distortion in the fight against terrorism took place that weakened the coalition and split the western world and

introduced a new dynamic of terrorism in Iraq, based on forces of nationalism, ethnicity and sectarianism. It also generated a backlash and aggravated anti-US sentiment, particularly in the Muslim world. It gave a new lease of life to Al Qaeda and marginalized the moderate forces within the Muslim countries.

The United States has become the world leader in pursuing the strategy of countering terrorism on lines similar to its role during the Cold War against the Soviets. The influence of the United States in regions that are potential sources of terrorism (particularly Islamic terrorism) has increased manifold. It has spread a network of its bases in the Middle East and Central Asia giving an impression that these are meant not only to facilitate its war on terror, but also its access to sources of energy. The USA has all along, but more so since 9/11, increasingly embraced a worldview that has driven it toward unilateralism and even exceptionalism. This has been in respect of arms control, non-proliferation, treaties such as CTBT, ABM treaty or climate change. The most crucial and also the most problematic aspect of American unilateralism, however, has been its frequent use of military force without the consent of the UN or even support from its traditional European allies to advance its political goals. The USA has used the policy of 'shock and awe' and exploited ethnic and sectarian differences while invading Afghanistan and Iraq. It may have facilitated winning battles and swiftly occupying these countries, but this policy has proved highly divisive and counterproductive from the point of rebuilding the country, restoring peace and winning the hearts and minds of the people. Events have also shown that both in Iraq and Afghanistan removal of governments was relatively easy, but effecting regime change has been an onerous task.

The United States across the world is ensuring that recipients of its economic and military assistance have to sign agreements conforming to anti-terrorist conditions as contractually specified. Regrettably, aid expenditures for military and police in most of the recipient countries are far exceeding that dedicated to poverty reduction, education or the health sector.

Since the events of 9/11, Muslim countries and the Islamic world are by and large on the defensive. It has also brought to the fore the great contradictions within their societies and set in motion, albeit slowly, a process of political, economic and social reform, at the behest of external pressure or domestic compulsions or a combination of both.

Developing nations, particularly Muslim countries, are now more aware of the linkages of poor governance, corruption and crime to terrorism. It is, however, another matter that other factors, including their own lack of legitimacy or lack of support from the people, prevent them from taking any substantive measures. In certain cases government leaders have used external pressure as a catalyst for reform, which on their own they were finding it difficult to implement.

There is no doubt that 9/11 has shaken the Muslim world from its slumber. The imperative of catching up with the challenges of the twenty-first century cannot be now set aside. Many Muslim states that were frozen in time are trying to unfreeze themselves and the process will be long and arduous. Perceptive observers can foresee that regimes that are finding it difficult to adjust may well be swept away.

Worldwide and especially in the Middle East, South and Southeast Asia, Russia and Central Asia, due to the phenomenon of terrorism, the militaries and security agencies have become even more powerful. Regrettably, authoritarian regimes have taken advantage of this to suppress normal political dissent in the guise of preventive measures against terror, but traditional democracies too have opted for erosion of human rights and loss of freedom to give priority to security against terrorist attacks. Fledgling democratic institutions have fallen victim to the war on terrorism and both federalism and the constitution are under attack. This is true of many countries from Russia to South Asia.

Democracies are confronted with acute dilemmas while dealing with the phenomenon of terrorist violence. On the one hand any overreaction can alienate the population, damaging the government's legitimacy. On the other if the police and the judiciary cannot protect the lives of the people then they lose credibility with the people. Dealing with terrorist violence demands steady painstaking response without compromising too much of individual rights yet adopting measures that provide safety to the people.

The United States' military presence and political influence have resulted in limited loss of sovereignty to some nations. On the other hand, co-operation among nations to share intelligence and develop common strategies to combat terrorism has also brought nations together. There is intra- as well as inter-regional co-operation in dealing with the terrorist threat. Terrorism knows no boundaries and the terrorists seek support for their activities at the national, regional

and global levels. Close co-operation among Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran, China, and India, Central Asian States, Russia and ASEAN countries is a prerequisite for combating terrorism. In the long run this could lead to sharing of experience in dealing with terrorists and evolving common strategies of combating terrorism.

Greater bonding and a higher level of coordination in matters of policy and operations on terrorism are already taking place between the United States, Britain, Australia, Israel, India and Singapore. Regional organizations, such as the African Union, the ASEAN, European Union, the Organization of American States, have developed intricate mechanisms for reporting and coordinating on potential terrorism. Differentiation between freedom struggles and terrorism has become blurred, thereby causing a major setback to the genuine causes of Palestine and Kashmir. At the same time, there is an increasing awareness of the need to get at the root cause of the conflicts and find enduring long-term solutions to these problems, as the war on terror can never be won without winning the hearts and minds of the people. Terrorism cannot be eradicated by taking pre-emptive military actions alone, as it has several dimensions. Since it largely reflects, and is a product of the prevailing social, political and economic realities, it can only be fought in the same arena by redressing social inequalities and political injustices and not merely by waging military campaigns. America's all-out military and political support to Israel, despite its occupation of Palestine, combined with its own recent occupation of Iraq, has resulted in the United States being viewed as biased against the Muslims and a prime cause of fuelling terror.

Similarly, oppressive and corrupt governments alienate people and drive them towards extremism. Economic activity is essential for giving hope to the people and for diverting their energies to productive channels. Sustained effort at promoting education and strengthening social, political and economic institutions is the most effective method of fighting terrorism in the long term. ·

Fears of nuclear terrorism have increased, increasing pressure on North Korea and Iran, countries that are alleged to be covertly engaged in nuclear build-up. There is great concern and worldwide co-operation in tracking illegal transfer of nuclear material and technology. Pakistan tightened its export controls through new legislation and improved physical custody of its nuclear assets and handled skilfully the storm that gathered after the disclosures about

A Q Khan's clandestine network. It fully co-operated with the International Atomic Energy Agency and the United States in dismantling the network and is making earnest efforts to conduct itself as a responsible nuclear power.

India and Pakistan both gained in many ways from the war against terror. Pakistan improved its economic position and arrested the macro-economic slide and to some extent advanced its international credibility by accepting the role of a frontline state in the war on terror. President Musharraf adroitly used the external environment to adjust his foreign policy, especially relations with neighbors, Afghanistan and India. Pakistan got much closer to the United States and acquired the status of a non-NATO ally, sometimes to the chagrin of its people. On the other hand, by leveraging its relations with the USA and the western countries, and using manipulative tactics against the opposition, the military regime consolidated its position domestically.

India remained affected by terrorism. Its parliament was attacked in December 2001 and it tried to use that opportunity to apply the doctrine of pre-emption on lines similar to those of USA, but it failed to achieve much apart from some partial gains. Nonetheless, India has fully exploited the altered regional and global situation to forge a strategic relationship with the USA on a long-term basis. The 10-year Indo-US defence agreement and enhanced co-operation in the areas of civil nuclear, civil space and high technology commerce is likely to bring about a qualitative change in their relationship. In return, the USA expects to align India as a potential partner to contain China and also to use it against Islamic terrorism. Whereas the USA and the western world have become extremely supportive of the peace process since the overt nuclearization and events of 9/11, they are likely to lean on the Indian position of maintaining the status quo. It is ironic that these two events, at least as of now, constrain the USA from putting any pressure on India to show flexibility. Clearly, Kashmir and nuclearization of South Asia have not lost their relevance but they are being viewed primarily through the prism of terrorism.

It would not be far from reality to say that India is a strategic partner of the USA in the war on terror and Pakistan has a tactical relationship. This in no way diminishes Pakistan's importance or role because there is deep convergence of interests on this and many other important issues between the two countries. Managing the prospects or

reality of Pax Americana is a major challenge for Pakistan and for that matter for every country in the region.

In Sri Lanka the Tamil movement has been constrained as a consequence of the current global war on terror. The international community is unwilling to give support for a separate homeland for Tamils and they are being pressurized to seek a political solution within the overall national framework. Bangladesh is facing growing extremism and the religious right is gaining ground. Nearly a month back 350 bombs detonated across the length and breadth of Bangladesh, within a span of a few hours, demonstrating the power of the disaffected religious groups.

Nepal is caught in an insurgency and the Maoists are supposed to hold sway over more than two-thirds of the country. Military administrations of major powers and affected countries such as India, Pakistan and Singapore are reorganizing their armed forces to deal with the new challenges of fighting terrorism.

The economic effects of terrorism need an in-depth analysis. Many facts are needed to do an in-depth and integrated impact analysis and many individual countries, corporations and multilateral agencies are engaged in doing so. Nonetheless, it is very clear that the tourism industry, airlines, investment and development are all adversely affected in countries where terrorism is active. Oversight on financial transactions and scrutiny of money transfers has become a part of national policies and international agreements and most governments have introduced new legislation to control the flow of funds to terrorist organizations. Despite these measures terrorists continue to use unconventional means and private channels for transferring money.

The current phenomenon of terrorism covers a wide geographic scope and has several dimensions posing the greatest challenge to the safety of individuals and security of states worldwide. The roots of terrorism are many, ranging from political and ideological to economic and social. A mere military response to terror can create more terrorists than it destroys. Close co-operation among states, reforms within states, greater tolerance among religions and various cultures, moving towards greater justice at the national and international levels and respect for international and humanitarian laws are the prerequisites for countering the impact and implications of global terror.

Regional and Global Terrorist Threats and the Way Out

Nusrat Mirza

The act of terror is much more heinous than the act of murder. A murderer kills someone he wants to be dead. For a terrorist, killing is for creating terror and committing an act to send a message or showing his presence. For him innocence has no appeal. The school children hostage drama in Russia, holding of OPEC ministers in 1975 or blowing up a building in Oklahoma (USA), reflect the ugly face of terrorism. Terrorism is indifferent to human existence, welfare and injury to mankind. Good or bad, ugly or beautiful such distinctions are lost in the mind of a terrorist. He acts against the very purpose of the existence of the world. A poet says, *Dard-e-Dil ke waste paida kia insan ko.* (The human being was created to share sorrows and grief). In a nutshell, it is a war against humanity.

Terrorism is also part of human history. Defiance against dominance is often called terrorism, a war between the state and a group of diehard terrorists or freedom fighters who are seeking their right by armed struggle. As has been said, 'one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter'. Countries avoid direct war but to weaken the other, organize terrorist activities in another country. Contradictions in the victim country are promoted to create difficulties and impede its emergence as a military or economic power. Ethnic, religious and sectarian terrorism is inflicted on such a victim country. Counter-terrorism is also another approach that has been adopted by some of the states of this world to reduce mass support of the known terrorists or freedom fighters. However, the miseries and suffering of their own people are increased. Kidnapping, bank looting, spraying bullets in holy places, gunning down innocent buyers in markets and creating private armies are examples of counter-terrorism. This is conducted against the guerrillas or freedom fighters to diminish their popular support or against another country either in revenge or to destabilize it. So guerrilla warfare is not only a war of unequals but also a war between

two strong nations to avoid direct military confrontation. Another form of terrorism is suicide bombing which has targeted innocent and helpless civilians. The most organized and fatal form of terrorism is state terrorism. Jallianwala Bagh killings of innocent people, Vietnam, Palestine, Kashmir, Afghanistan and latest Iraq are examples.

The difference between a war of liberation or guerrilla warfare and terrorism is that a guerilla not only has to spare the innocent population from its deadly activities but also to fight for their rights and is dependent on their support. He only targets military installations and armed personnel. As General George Grivas, founder and head of Cypriot EOKA, has said in his memoirs, 'We did not strike like a bomber at random. We only shot British servicemen, who would have killed us if they could have fired first. We shot civilians who were traitors or intelligence agents'. The communists have glorified terrorism. The communist ideology justified terrorism. They accepted terrorism as legitimate weapon against the oppressor. Scores of books have been written on it. Che Guevara, Mao Zedong, Ho Chi Minh are their heroes. Many people of the free world were influenced by their struggle. As Mao Zedong's famous saying goes, 'The guerilla swims like a fish in the sea of the people.' A good example is Vietnam. Other examples are Afghanistan, Palestine, and Kashmir and now the most important example is Iraq, while others have also their impact. China would not have been liberated and Vietnam would not have been free without armed struggle. Even America was liberated through an armed struggle. George Washington was their hero. Liberation of Pakistan and India is an exception. The subcontinent was freed through political struggle. A guerrilla war or a war of liberation can be justified but not terrorism. However, the killing of innocents cannot be justified by any reason.

Though terrorism is a global phenomenon, in recent days it has been labelled Muslim especially after the 11 September 2001 attacks on the twin towers and the Pentagon. However, Muslims did not invent terrorism. The first aeroplane highjacker was an American and the recent terrorism is promoted by America. It is the direct consequence of the Cold War between the United States of America and the Soviet Union of Russia, former allies, and among the five victors of World War II. America made a long-term strategy to destabilize the Soviet Union by taking the help of Muslims and using their philosophy of Jihad. Muslim children were prepared for Jihad against Russia, were taught Koranic verses in their syllabus for years in Pakistan, Afghanistan and

Saudi Arabia. A Canadian University suggested the syllabus. The war against the Soviet Union was fought. Earlier, America in the sixties planned that, by 1980, Muslims of Central Asia would be able to contact the free Muslim world, breaking the iron curtain. The Soviet mistake of occupying Afghanistan in 1979 provided an early opportunity to the Americans to highlight the weakness of the Soviet Union and to force its retreat from the global arena by utilizing the expertise that America had developed among Pakistani officers. About 100,000 Muslim warriors then called from all Muslim countries were trained by America and its allies utilizing the training to the Pakistan armed force in skills developed in the sixties to offer resistance in case Russia entered Pakistan. It could have been similar to the resistance or more fatal than the resistance in Iraq nowadays, had the Soviets invaded Pakistan. Among these trained guerrillas about 35,000 were from Pakistan and 65,000 from all over the world.

After the fall of Russia, America, instead of rehabilitating these guerrillas, abandoned them. These warriors, highly trained and overwhelmed by the spirit of Jihad under the leadership of Osama bin Laden formed a Muslim Brigade and threatened America which had betrayed them and supported their enemy, Israel. They were in the state of utter frustration, being under aristocratic rule in their countries and betrayed by the Americans. Life and death had become meaningless for them. Members of this brigade spread all over the world to train other Muslims to fight against their respective aristocratic rulers, the usurpers, or to join the freedom fighters in different parts of the world such as Palestine, Kashmir, Chechnya, and other places. So much so, that the 11 September 2001 incident took place. After that the United States of America declared war against terrorism and formed a coalition of nations to fight a war against terrorism. Furious, the Americans, bombarded Afghanistan and used all weapons short of the atom bomb. The Americans have not yet been successful in Afghanistan and more severe resistance awaits them in the time to come though they are satisfied after burying the piece of stone wreckage of the twin towers in the barren land of Afghanistan, which tried to touch their glory, as a sign of revenge and lesson-teaching. Not satisfied with that, the Americans out of lust and on fake reasons attacked and occupied Iraq, where now these Muslim fighters are fighting against America and trying their best not to let America go from there. It is felt universally that American stay in Iraq will save some other part of the world from the American threat. In addition to this, America and its allies, including Pakistan, are under

threat from these angry Muslim fighters. The 7/7 incident is not the last or the least; they may strike anywhere in any part of the world, Muslim or non-Muslim, but the target will be an American ally. According to Pakistan's retired Chief of the Army Staff, General Mirza Aslam Beg, 'this hidden brigade has destroyed one superpower and has kept the other under pressure. America cannot win the war in Iraq nor in Afghanistan. This brigade has the potential to destroy the other'. It has been assessed in the Muslim world that there are tactical losses but strategically the Muslims will be benefited.

America's new ally against this terror is India. Additional reasons for Indo-American partnership are: the desire to obtain business, capture the Indian arms market, to encircle China and to get the support of India as a natural ally against Muslims and Pakistan, which is considered by both as the centre of terrorism. In that sense now India is a natural ally of America as Pakistan once was against the Soviet Union. India is also an aspirant of renaissance. However, India could do no better than Pakistan did earlier toeing the American policy and inviting the Kalashnikov, the drug menace and religious violence in society. That way, the two aspirants of renaissance — Muslims and Hindus, Pakistan and India — involved in the scuffle for renaissance, will turn to be friends.

Way Out

- Pull out the forces from Afghanistan and Iraq.
- Muslims stop suicidal attacks.
- American interference in independent countries be stopped.
- Hegemonic designs, aspiration to remain the superpower for as long as possible in the future and the thoughts of not allowing any country or group of countries to emerge as such, are given up.
- Friendship with the Muslim world.
- Justice is provided to Kashmir and Palestine by resolving the issues as per the aspirations of the people.
- Give freedom to the people.
- War for energy or conspiracies against countries which are weak but rich in energy- resources be stopped.

Meeting the Challenge of Regional and Global Terrorism

D R Bhatti

The Director General, Shri Rashpal Malhotra and CRRID deserve the highest appreciation for organizing the Lecture-cum-Seminar Series Programme in the memory of the Late Shri P N Haksar, an eminent personality of our country. Shri Haksar's name had become synonymous with Indian culture, when he defined that culture is the sum total of the qualities of *Vidya, Tapa, Dana, Jnana, Sheela, Guna* and *Dharma*. The International Institute for Asia-Pacific Studies, New Delhi, had organized a national seminar on Rise of Terrorism and Secessionism in the region — Politico-Economic, Strategic and Social Implications, in May 2000; the lectures were compiled in a book by Shri V D Chopra and dedicated to the memory of Shri P N Haksar. The choice of the above mentioned topic is highly appropriate and is the need of the hour.

Terrorism is a systematic attempt to cause intense fear and anxiety, expressly for some political and social purposes. Another good definition of terrorism is 'The threat or use of violence for political purposes by individuals or groups, whether acting for or in opposition to established governmental authority, when such actions are intended to shock, stun or intimidate a target group wider than the immediate victim.'The Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences has defined terrorism as a term used to describe the method or the theory behind the method whereby an organized group or party seeks to achieve its avowed aims chiefly through the systematic use of violence. The most common definition is given by the US State Department which says: 'Terrorism is premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience.' Prof. Paul Wilkinson of Scotland says that terrorism is the deliberate attempt to create fear, intense fear, in order to coerce the wider target resulting in giving in to what the

terrorists want. He classified terrorism as disruptive terrorism, theatrical terrorism (to draw attention), coercive terrorism and state sponsored terrorism. Walter Laqueur who invested his lifetime in research efforts to explain the phenomenon, said, 'How difficult it is to define.'

Terrorists can strike at anyone, anywhere and at any time. Using terrorism is a low-tech, low-cost and high-result route to a worldwide audience. Terrorists operate worldwide irrespective of boundaries and the world is threatened by 'Global Terrorism'. The factors contributing to the rise and growth of terrorism are historical injustice; colonial factors; domino syndrome; frustration against corruption and autocracy; technological advancement; cheapest investment of bargain; psychological, ideological, religious fundamentalism, class struggle nexus, etc. Organized crime like drug trafficking, money laundering, illegal immigration, counterfeiting currency, etc., are assuming more serious dimensions with the liberalization of the economy. High intensity crime/organized crime and low intensity conflicts (LIC) present a lethal combination. The commission on 'Integrated Long Term Strategy' comprising a group of eminent Americans described LIC as 'insurgencies, organized terrorism, paramilitary crime, sabotage and others in the shadow area between peace and open warfare involving large units', a term of warfare in which the enemy is more or less omnipresent and unlikely to surrender. This is basically warfare through terror.

Terrorism has existed throughout history and throughout the world. The ancient Greek historian Xenophon (430-349 BC) wrote of the effectiveness of psychological warfare against enemy population. The use of terrorism by a faction against a regime is probably as old as the repressive terror of rulers. The use of terror was openly advocated by Robespierre as a means of encouraging revolutionary virtue during the French Revolution, leading to the period of political dominance called the 'Reign of Terror'. After the American Civil War (1861-65), defiant Southerners created a terrorist organization called the Ku-Klux-Klan to intimidate supporters of the revolution. In the twentieth century, totalitarian regimes such as those of the Nazis under Adolf Hitler and the Soviet Union under Joseph Stalin adopted state terrorism. The terror which overtook Jews in Germany and Russia was the worst example of state terrorism in the history of the modem world. When Mao got into power in China in 1949, he made use of terror on a bigger

scale, which was brought to an end by Deng Xiao Ping. Kampuchea (Cambodia-Pol Pot), Iran and Spain experienced terrorism of several varieties.

Terrorism has been used by one or both sides in anti-colonial conflicts — Ireland and UK, Algeria and France, Vietnam and USA, etc. CIA-Sponsored terrorism overthrew the Marxist government in Nicaragua, Nazibullah government in Afghanistan, etc. One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter. For the USA, members of PLO are terrorists, whereas Afghan rebels were freedom fighters. Terrorists do not view themselves as terrorists. The term they prefer is 'freedom fighters' or 'holy warriors', 'Jehadis', 'urban guerrillas', etc. Even a notorious international terrorist like Ilich Ramirez Sanchez, better known as Carlos the Jackal, described himself as a revolutionary.

In the twentieth century, terrorism was limited to South Asia and some European countries. After the September 2001 attack on WTC and Pentagon, it is felt that terrorism has been globalized and no area or person is safe. Those who are more armed or more healthy or more advanced technologically are not necessarily secure. The security of a state is not guaranteed by weapons and armed forces alone. It is felt that the attack on the USA had taken place because a certain number of human beings believe that American policies with regard to Palestine, Iraq and the Gulf region have caused immense suffering to their community for the last so many decades. It is conceivable that America's policies are sound and reflect America's commitment to provide leadership to the global community for building a better world. Osama bin Laden, in his first verified statement since the September 11 attack, swore in videotaped remarks broadcast on Qatar's *Al-Jazeera* television that the United States will not live in peace until peace reigned in Palestine and the US troops moved out of the Gulf, particularly Saudi Arabia, where holy places like Mecca and Medina are situated. After the WTC attack, terrorist activities have been stepped up globally, as per details given below:

- Attack in Bali Island on 12 October 2002 killing nearly 200 and injuring 300 persons.

- A car bomb exploded at an Israeli hotel on 28 November 2002, killing 14 people and injuring 80.

- Israeli plane carrying 261 passengers had a narrow escape from missile attack.

- Terrorists struck in Casablanca (Morocco) on 16 May 2003, killing more than 40 persons when various clubs were attacked.

- Killing Al-Hamra expatriates in Riyadh in May 2000.

- A truck-bomb driver ran through the wall of the UN Complex in Baghdad in August 2003.

- Blasts hit Bombay killing 52 persons.

- Recent bombing in London killing a large number of persons.

- Terrorist attack in Delhi killing 78 persons. Earlier, terrorist attack on Lal Qilla, Parliament, Ayodhya and Akshardham which were heart rendering incidents.

  After the 9/11 attack in the USA, the terrorism scene in the world is as under:

- Globalization of terror — A majority of the countries are in the grip of terrorism. Terrorists can attack anywhere and the most impregnable security network. The militants can strike anywhere they choose, be it New York, New Delhi, Madrid, Bali, Egypt and London.

- Attack against plural social order, secularism and democracy.

- Weird interpretation of Islam. Buddha's statues in Bamyan were destroyed, earlier.

- Nexus of ISI-Al Qaeda and other Islamic terrorist outfits resulting in guerrilla war and lesson to adversaries.

- Suicide killers or martyrs or fidayeens or human bombs.

- WMD or super terrorism — lethal weapons acquired by terrorist groups. Chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear weapons will be used. For example, Sorin nerve gas was used in Japan by Aum Shirinkyo cult in 1995.

- Cyber terrorism.

- Stepping up of secessionist activities in Eurasia, i.e., Chechnya, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, India, Yugoslavia and China, (Vighur movement in Xinjiang province). India, Yugoslavia and Russian republic are the boiling points.

- Islamic fundamentalism — debatable points are Islam vs Globalization, Islam vs Democracy, Globalization vs Democracy and Holy war vs Just war. Pan-Islamic or Jehadi outfits like LET, Al Unama, HM, Muslim Defence Force, Al Qaeda, Muslim Revenge Force, Jaish-e-Mohd are active in our country. HUM,

HUJI, HM, Al Badr, SSP, Al Qaeda, LET groups are active in Chechnya.

- Religious Terrorism — 42 per cent of the terrorists predominantly belong to various religious faiths.

As far as regional terrorism is concerned, especially in Asia, the states are multi-ethnic, multicultural, multireligious and multistructural economies struggling to come out of tribal, clan and caste loyalties. The states/people are facing the challenges of industrialization, modernization and technological revolution. The most dangerous outcome of the rise of terrorism and secessionism in Eurasia is that now a nexus has developed between the terrorists, drug mafia, illegal arms suppliers and criminals, that too under the cover of what is called religious revolution. The causes of terrorism in India are regional, psychological/emotional, religious, ideological, identity crisis and have and have nots. LTTE and other allied terrorist groups are active in Sri Lanka, whereas India is under threat from the following outfits:

1. Panjab — Babbars, KCF-P and KLF are active.
2. North India and western and southern parts are under serious threat from Islamic fundamentalists. Allah's armies including the following outfits are active.
   - Al Qaeda
   - Taliban
   - HUA, HUM, HUJI
   - LET
   - HM
   - Hizbe Wahadat (Shia)
   - Sipahe Sahaba of Pak (SSP)
   - Lashkar-e-Jhangir
   - Sipahe Mohd Pak (Shia)
   - Tehrik-e-Jafria (Shia)
   - JeM — after ban renamed as Tehrik-e-Khuddam-Ul-Din
   - Al Badr
   - Various terrorist outfits indulging in cross-border terrorism in J&K are LET, HM (JEI), JeM, HUA, Al Jehad force, HUM, HUJI, IUM, JKIF, KZF and Tehriqul Muzahideen.

In Pakistan, there is a close relationship between Islamic political parties and various militant outfits. Pak religious groups and parties have close links with the terrorist movements in Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Chechnya, Xinjiang province in China, i.e., Vighur Movement, to promote the cause of Islam against infidel communists.

3. Left extremism is prevalent in MP, Bihar, Jharkhand, Chhatisgarh, Andhra Pradesh, Orissa, Kerala, UP, etc. PWG and MCC-I are very active, rather they have declared a CRZ, i.e., Compact Revolutionary Zone starting from Bihar to Kerala. People's Guerilla Army is the militant outfit of PWG. MCC-I has an armed wing PLGA, i.e., People's Liberation Guerrilla Army. PWG and MCC-I are members of the Co-ordination Committee of Maoist Parties and Organization of South Asia (CCOMPOSA). This organization was formed in June 2001 and has been organizing its annual conference involving MCC-I and PWG every year. Other members are:

    *   Bangladesh Samyawadi Dal (M-L).
    *   Ceylon Communist Party (Maoist) Sri Lanka.
    *   Communist Parry of East Bengal (M-L) Bangladesh.
    *   Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist).
    *   Maowadi Punargathan Kendra Bangladesh.
    *   Purba Bangla Sarbohara Party Bangladesh.

    Another organization is the Revolutionary International Movement formed in 1984 with members from Sri Lanka, Afghanistan, Iran, Peru, Nepal, Turkey, Italy, Tunisia, Columbia, Bangladesh and USA.

4. Northeast, i.e., the Seven Sister States are under threat from ULFA, NSCN, NDFB and other outfits and are facing sub-nationalism problems.

    Nepal is struggling with left extremism. Bangladesh is under threat from Islamic fundamentalists. Pakistan, Afghanistan, the Central Asian States and a part of Russia are under great threat from Al Qaeda and other Pan-Islamic fundamentalist outfits.

    The magnitude of the menace of terrorism can be seen from the fact that the toll of lives in two World Wars was 2,90,00,000, whereas the toll of lives in the twentieth century, because of terrorism, is around four crores. An overview of tackling terrorism will be given and the minute

details of managing terrorism in Punjab will not be touched. As per Paul Wallace, Adviser to the USA on anti-terrorism, there are five lessons to be learnt regarding political violence and terrorism:

- Negotiate, negotiate, negotiate.
- Violence increases with negotiation. .
- Item of principle must becomes political, i.e., compromise is crucial.
- Special training and units for the military and police emphasizing human rights contribute to conflict resolution.
- Erosion of democratic institutions must be revitalized.

Points to be kept in mind while dealing with terrorism are:

- Terrorism is a cheaper form of warfare and needs effective handling.
- No deal behind the scene and no succumbing to terrorist pressure.
- Do not arouse public hostility.
- Not playing into the hands of terrorists.
- Government must have the will to uphold the law.
- Middle approach — tough action against the terrorists but winning over the people on the margin.
- Elicit public co-operation. Terrorism will not win and it can be managed.
- Denying publicity to the terrorists.
- Meeting genuine grievances of the public.
- No state terrorism. Government security forces, NGOs, human rights bodies and commissions should be on one side and the terrorists on the other.
- Global approach.

Maj Gen Afsir Karim, an expert on anti-terrorism, suggests the following solutions:

- Forming a special organization to counter terrorism, which should have the capability of an armed and unarmed response, highly organized intelligence service and an internal civil defence organization.
- Counter- mobilization of population.

- Create a safe physical environment through popular self-defence, civic action in coordination with hard hitting mobile and highly trained Special Forces.
- Devise special drills to safeguard soft targets, defeat capability of terrorists to bomb and kill through pre-emptive actions and continuous surveillance of terrorist movements.
- Take appropriate measures at the national level to limit Pakistan's capability to support and abet terrorism.
- Stand up against secessionist and communal organizations and break their nexus with Pakistan.

Benjamin Nathanyahu, former Prime Minister of Israel, suggests that terrorism can be fought under the following broad guidelines:

- Neutralize terrorist enclaves — effective measures should be taken against terrorist enclaves, i.e., LET, HM and JeM in J&K, Hezbollah in Lebanon, PLO — Hamas Fiefdom in Ghaza and Al Qaeda in Pakistan and Afghanistan.
- Freezing of financial assets all over the world, especially in the West, of terrorist regimes and organizations.
- Sharing of intelligence.
- Revising legislation to enable greater surveillance and action against organizations inciting violence, subject to periodic renewal.
- Imposing diplomatic, economic and military sanctions.
- Imposing sanctions on supply of nuclear technology to terrorist states.
- Actively pursuing terrorists.
- Do not release jailed terrorists.
- Training special officers to fight terrorism.
- Educating the public and media to strike a balance.
- Effective means to make it impossible for terrorists to hijack or blow up a plane and not conceding their demands.
- Good governance to redress political, social and human aspects of terrorism. Denying publicity, expeditious trials, prosecution and deterrent punishment to terrorists.

- Trans-border and international terrorism — to check effectively by extradition and prosecution.

- UN, other organizations and other countries to come out effectively against terrorism.

- Effective action against narco-terrorism and money laundering.

- Special laws for special occasions and reforming the criminal justice system.

- The fight against terrorism is a protracted war and hence long-term plans need to be drawn up.

As far as Pakistan is concerned, India must make it clear that no J&K dispute exists except POK. Political parties should contest elections if they want to share power. India is going to stay as a democratic and secular country. The border must be properly fenced and sealed as in Punjab. There are reports in local as well as international media of Al Qaeda and Taliban forces reaching Karachi and other places in Sindh and West Punjab and being dispatched for terrorist activities in J&K, Bangladesh, Chechnya, etc. Al-Akhwan academy located in the mountainous region of Chakwal can train a batch of 750 recruits at a time. Markaz-e-Taiba meets the needs of LET. Al Badr-I, AL Badr-II in Muzaffarabad specializes in *Cdo Ops*. Islamic extremism and terrorism is a serious menace to various Islamic, democratic and secular countries in Asia, Africa, Europe, USA and it will remain a grave threat unless the international community decides to fight it both militarily and intellectually. Under WMD, nuclear terrorism of late has become a very serious threat to humanity in general, especially from Al Qaeda.

The scenario of nuclear threats by terrorist groups can be subdivided into four major parts:

- Terrorist organizations using a conventional nuclear device

- Terrorists using small nuclear devices like suitcase bombs.

- Sabotage of nuclear sites.

- Use of radiological weapons — recently used in Moscow's Park.

We must have a Terrorist Threat Integration Centre. Nuclear facilities should have foolproof security arrangements. Courses for

civil defence against CBRN attack should be part of the curriculum of school education.

In the global war on terrorism, USA's doctrine of pre-emptive action against the so-called evil states to subdue them militarily has gained ground. The impact of global terrorism has cast shadows on India. We have witnessed attacks on seats of power in J&K and Delhi. As noted by Stephen Emerson, a specialist on terrorism, neither the USA nor its European allies took serious note of the menace of terrorism till it affected their own citizens. They took practically no notice of India's repeated warning that Pakistan had become a hotbed of militancy, which was being served in diverse ways by the ISI as well as by private sectarian armies, the number of which was daily increasing.

Terrorist groups can be classified into three categories, i.e., crusaders, criminals and crazies. Most of the terrorist groups have become criminals and are functioning like a flourishing business and industry. We should distinguish between the fundamentalists and activists who demand change and extremists who use violence. Popular support should be cut off. Identify the movements before these mature and redress the grievances. Respect religious forces and cultural authenticity. Improve education on religion. Do not approach policy-making from the angle of fear. As per an Italian proverb, 'the Mafia was not born yesterday and it will not die tomorrow'. Strict action is required against such elements. Recently, addressing top Indian Army Commanders, our Hon'ble Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh had said that global threats require a global response. All countries should put pressure on Pakistan to close down 40,000-50,000 Madrasas with two million students on roll giving militancy training. Strict action is required to be taken against about 18,000 potential terrorists active in about 60 countries. After the WTC attack, India is not alone in the fight against cross-border terrorism and is now being supported by the USA and other big powers.

The practitioners of terrorism need to understand that violence begets violence. In the ultimate analysis, victory will be won by the heart not by the gun.

We must have faith that victory of good over evil is the historical truth. It is rightly said, 'Tyrants and the human kind have always been at odds, their ways are not new, nor is their fashion new. In the same way, we have made the flowers blossom in the fire, their defeat is not new nor is our victory new.'

13

Regional Terrorism: The South Asian Experience

Wali-ur Rahman

On 7 December 2002, powerful bombs exploded in four cinema halls at Mymensingh. They claimed a total of 17 lives including a girl of six and inflicted injuries to about 100 moviegoers.

The inquiry commission on the Mymensingh bomb blasts concluded, 'Fundamentalists or extremist groups controlled by forces outside the country carried the bomb attacks. They do not believe in independence and sovereignty of the country' — as the *Daily Star* quoted the commission.[1]

Seven months after this brutal incident, on Friday, 27 June, law enforcers seized huge quantities of bullets and explosives, allegedly RDX,[2] from an abandoned truck loaded with pineapples in Bogura. The Mymensingh tragedy sank to insignificance before it, when just four days after this incident, police and BDR seized another cache of ammunition and explosives from a place near a brick-kiln, where the truck was captured on 27 June. Similar seizures continued for the next one week and about 95,000 bullets and 200 kg of RDX explosives were seized in total. Investigations into the incident have not yet established conclusively the place of origin of the contraband and the identities of those involved in the incident, though it has been determined that the seized bullets are of Chinese origin. According to experts, the samples of the bullets and explosives proved that the consignment was brought for delivery to an insurgency group. Usually, such bullets are used in assault rifles such as AK-47, AK-56, AK-25 and the Chinese SMG and the RDX type of explosives are popular with insurgents involved in guerrilla warfare.[3] The police have also arrested, among others, an alleged cadre of the All Tripura Tiger Force (ATTF), a tribal insurgent group operating in the northeastern Indian State of Tripura. The series of stunning ammunition haul may have a link with the Mymensingh

bomb blasts and other similar incidents that took place in the last couple of years in Bangladesh and our neighbouring country, India.

Experience over the past few years also proves that impunity to trouble makers has become a reality and the most common practice as far as the administration of justice is concerned. The most relevant example is the case of 'Bangla Bhai'. A group of fanatics under the leadership of one 'Bangla Bhai' has spread its control over some parts of Bangladesh. The alarming rise of fanatic groups all over the country is threatening our constitution and the country.

The biggest-ever arms seizure in Chittagong on 1-2 April 2004 is also a relevant example of impunity. It signifies a new emerging address of international terrorism in Bangladesh, which poses a threat to peace and security of the entire region. It has given food for thought to the international community. The seized consignment included modern assault rifles (1790), grenade launchers (2000), rocket launchers (150), grenades (25,020), rockets (840) and 1.1 million rounds of ammunition. The arms were brought through the Arabian Sea route in two fishing trawlers, which were unloaded at the government-owned Chittagong Urea Fertilizer Limited, located in front of Chittagong port in the Karnafuly river. The arms were being taken to Maulvi Bazar in Sylhet division. The consignment was seized by chance as one of the drivers of the 10 trucks used in the operation refused to pay the policemen on duty.

The Chittagong arms haul has remained the focal point of international investigation agencies for the investigation of the bomb and grenade blasts committed recently in the country. Against whom was the weaponry meant to be used is a matter for investigation. The Federal Bureau of Investigation, requested by the government to investigate the 27 January 2005 blast, in which Mr Shah A M S Kibria was killed, focused on the arms haul in Chittagong to begin with the assignment. The US agency expressed similar opinion when its team came to Bangladesh to investigate the 21 August 2004 grenade attack on the Hon'ble Sheikh Hasina, former Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition. Interpol investigators, who came to Dhaka after the 21 August grenade attack, also made similar observations. Scotland Yard investigators, who came to Bangladesh after an attempt on the British High Commissioner, Anwar Chowdhury, said the investigation should begin with the arms recovery in Chittagong. All the international investigation agencies said the grenade blasts were linked to the

Chittagong arms consignment. They said that international investigators had observed that finding out the source, destination and couriers of the arms, hauled in Chittagong on 2 April 2004, was very important for unmasking the culprits behind the grenade attacks.

Although the civil society leaders demanded an independent, credible and transparent investigation, with international support, of these dastardly attacks/killings, including the murder of Mr Shah A M S Kibria, no concrete action seems to have been taken by the authorities concerned. Even specific instructions from the Prime Minister were futile. The authorities also failed to provide the FBI with facilities including the evidence and co-operation of the local investigative agencies. The report on the grenade attack against 21, prepared by the Bangladesh Supreme Court Bar Association, also failed to identify the perpetrators. However, it is mentioned in the report that the police force made it easier for the criminals to escape from the place immediately after committing the attack.

In fact, the progress of investigations related to all the important incidents of bomb blast appears to have reached a cul-de-sac. It suggests a lackadaisical, directionless activity of multiple agencies, moving in an uncoordinated fashion indicating a futile exercise. The result of this endeavour, naturally fruitless, is agony and more agony for the common people. The reason one feels despondent is, that these cases have remained unsolved and the subsequent incidents could not be anticipated, indicating a basic failure on the part of the intelligence and law enforcing agencies. This situation raises genuine concern in the minds of the common people for their safety and security. Unsolved cases provide little room for the affected to seek justice and the nation is left to endure a situation where wild speculations are bred and the country has a declining image.

According to the probe commission report on the Mymensingh bomb blast, the terrorist group(s) used RDX to make their attack more destructive. Again, in the recent episode of Bogura, Police and BDR recovered around 200 kg of RDX, which is alarming. The attack using explosives is one of the most commonly used tactics of terrorist organizations. Terrorists obviously tend to acquire the explosives, which best suit their needs, within the limits of their skills. International terrorism supported by states clearly has no difficulty in acquiring the desired explosives.

From the second half of the nineteenth century, the use of explosives, based on powder and mercury [fulminate] resulted in a number of bloody attacks. One of these, in Clerkenwell Prison in England, in December 1967, caused 12 deaths and injured 120.[4] It is paradoxical to note that many devices and explosives thought of as modern today, were invented in the end of the nineteenth century. The Irish-Americans contributed to the modernization of terrorist techniques.[5] In France, the era of the bomb flowered in 1892 with a series of anarchist attacks perpetrated in particular by Ravachol.[6]

For the last couple of decades, the Indian Government is facing the issue of terrorism with utmost importance. The countries in this region and outside allege that one intelligence agency in our neighbourhood is giving illegal training, arming, organizing and creating several militant groups. This agency is said to have direct ties with terrorist organizations like Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF), Lashkar-e-Toiba (LeT), Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM), Hezb-ul-Mujahedin, Harakat-ul Ansar, Harakat-ul Mujahedin, Al Umar, Al Barq, Muslim Janbaz Force, United Liberation Front of Seven Sisters (ULFOSS), National Security Council of Nagaland (NSCN), People's Liberation Army (PLA), United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA), North East Students Organization (NESO), Khalistan Commando Force (KCF-P), Babbar Khalsa International (BKI), International Sikh Youth Federation (ISYF), etc. From the very names of these organizations, it is clear enough that the agency covers a very wide range and runs its activities in more than one South Asian country. It is often said that the agency is the creator of Taliban. India's official sources say, 'ISI has been reported to operate training camps near the border of Bangladesh where members of separatist groups of the northern states, known as the United Liberation Front of Seven Sisters (ULFOSS) are trained with military equipment and terrorist activities. These groups include the National Security Council of Nagaland (NSCN), People's Liberation Army (PLA), United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA), and North East Students Organization (NESO).' Though the Bangladesh Government constantly denies any such activities in Bangladesh, the recent ammunition seizure may be a part of this agency's broad-based plan of destabilizing the politico-economic situation of this region.

The geographical position of Bangladesh makes it an ideal transit route for illegal arms trafficking. As per intelligence and media

reports, more than one route around the country is being used for carrying illegal arms. Reports say, Assam is the main recipient of these arms and ammunition, from where arms and explosives are distributed to all other separatist groups of India's North East. The recent sensational ammo haul at Bogura brings probable arms routes into light. At least three viable routes exist for the transport of ammunition and explosives to Assam. First, the river route through the Jamuna to the Brahamputra, since Bogura is situated on one of the Jamuna's tributaries, the Karatoya, with the consignment eventually reaching Assam.

The United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA), which has direct operational linkages with the ATTF, is known to have used this river route for its movements in the past. Second, the consignment could have reached West Bengal through the vulnerable 22-km land stretch of the Siliguri corridor in the north of the state, and then passed to the ULFA through another ally, the Kamtapur Liberation Organization (KLO). Finally, the consignment could also have been taken to Meghalaya and from there again to the ULFA through the Achik National Volunteer Council (ANVC). Here, in this connection, let us have a quick look at the transit routes around Bangladesh, which for the last couple of decades are being used for illegal arms trafficking.

India's troubled relationship with the neighbouring countries has been exploited by insurgents and their supporters. The Government of Tripura has recently sent a report to the Central Government on 'the basis of definite information' that the militant outfits have been exploiting the porous border with Bangladesh to plan their activities and buy arms. According to the report, 'outfits like ATTF and the NLFT buy arms, ammunition and modern communication gadgets from Southeast Asian countries, such as Singapore and Thailand, and collect them in Bangkok'. The route from Cambodia to Cox's Bazaar via Thailand and Andamans is a very conventional route, used by the international arms smugglers. According to intelligence sources, Ranong Island off the coast of Thailand is the staging point for arms shipments that originate from Cambodia and take the sea route through the Andamans to the major receiving point at Cox's Bazar, Bangladesh's southernmost tip. The route followed by these shipments covers Thailand, the Andamans and the land route via Myanmar and Bangladesh, before ending up in the hands of the northeast insurgents. This route has been used by arms dealers and their end-users for a number of years.[7]

Here we can recall the Jogeswar Nagar attack, which was the worst of its kind in this state of India in recent years. The attack, which was part of a revived campaign of vendetta against the Bengali settlers in the area, was carried out by a joint team of ATTF militants and criminals allegedly from Satchari[8] in Bangladesh. After the massacre, the rebels and their henchmen were believed to have returned to their base at Satchari. The site of the carnage was 45 km from Agartala. The Indo-Bangladesh border and a Border Security Force (BSF) outpost are 500 metres away. Across the border is Habigunj district of Bangladesh where the ATTF is said to have its base. The ATTF insurgents are running a training and operation camp at Satchari, visible from this side of the border, which is provided by the Inter-Services Intelligence of Pakistan. Insurgents in the northeastern states, especially Tripura, are alleged to have been using Bangladesh, where they have their 'soft hideouts', as their base.[9]

The ULFA leaders, since the early 1990s, have reportedly been visiting Chang Mai in Thailand in order to obtain arms. The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, who have acquired fast boats, have emerged as the key couriers for taking delivery of weapons, usually on the high seas, and delivering them to the required destinations in the northeast. Weapons are finally funnelled through Cox's Bazar in Bangladesh and taken to Dwaki in Meghalaya for dispersal to the ULFA, while Haflong in Assam is the staging post for the delivery to the National Socialist Council of Nagaland.[10] Thus, arms and explosives from Cox's Bazar enter India's northeast through Tripura and Meghalaya.

At present, most of the prominent insurgent groups operating in India's northeast receive financial and logistics support, including arms and ammunition, through the Bangladesh-China-Myanmar border.[11] This would suggest that the transfer of arms and ammunition to Indian insurgent groups in the Indian northeast is occurring through a route different from the traditional Cambodia-Thailand-Andaman Sea-Cox's Bazaar circuit that has long been established. Alternatively, there is some speculation that the ammunition and explosives were to be smuggled into Nepal for the Maoist insurgents, with the ATTF acting as a mere conduit. This would strengthen reports pointing to the networking between ideologically disparate northeast Indian insurgent groups with extremist forces outside, creating a bigger security concern for the whole region. The possibility of the Nepali Maoists, being the eventual recipients of the consignments, cannot be

entirely ruled out as the insurgents do adopt a strategy of consolidation and regrouping whenever peace talks are on.

However, conditions in India's northeast suggest that this was the most probable destination of the contraband with a large number of insurgent groups operating in the region using variants of the AK series of rifles.[12] The Maoists are not known to be using weapons of Chinese make on a large scale. The tedious route from China through Myanmar and Bangladesh, and that too, through the ATTF, does not appear to be a credible option, since Nepal shares an extended border with China to its north.

The pressure to move away from the traditional routes has been increasing, since such routes are now commonly known, and movement on these is relatively easy to detect because of the increased surveillance along India's international borders with Myanmar, Bhutan and Bangladesh.

The Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in Accordance with the Charter of the United Nations[13] in its preamble, states that the General Assembly, considering that the faithful observance of the principles of international law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among states and the fulfilment in good faith of the obligations assumed by states, in accordance with the Charter, is of the greatest importance for the maintenance of international peace and security and for the implementation of other purposes of the United Nations[14] and convinced that the strict observance by states of the obligation not to intervene in the affairs of any other state is an essential condition to ensure that nations live together in peace with one another, since the practice of any form of intervention not only violates the spirit and letter of the Charter, but also leads to the creation of situations which threaten international peace and security,[15] solemnly proclaimed the principles enshrined in the Declaration of 1970. One of such principles as enunciated in the Declaration is that, 'Every state has a duty to refrain from organizing or encouraging the organization of irregular forces or armed bands, including mercenaries, for incursion into the territory of another state.'[16] Again the same Article states that 'Every state has the duty to refrain from organizing, assisting or participating in acts of civil strife or terrorist acts in another state or acquiescing in organized activities within its territory directed towards the commission of such

acts, when the acts referred to in the present paragraph involve a threat or use of force."[17]

The second Principle,[18] stated in Article 1, proclaims:

No state or group of states has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other state. Consequently, armed intervention and all other forms of interference or attempted threats against the personality of the state or against its political, economic and cultural elements, are in violation of international law.[19]

The same principle states:

No state may use or encourage the use of economic, political or any other type of measures to coerce another state in order to obtain from it the subordination of the exercise of its sovereign rights and to secure from it advantages of any kind. Also no state shall organize, assist, foment, finance, incite or tolerate subversive, terrorist or armed activities directed towards the violent overthrow of the regime of another state, or interfere in civil strife in another state.[20]

The Declaration not only imposes responsibility on states to refrain from organizing and patronizing terrorist groups, but also vests duty to actively co-operate with other states in order to maintain international peace and security.[21] The principles of the Charter of the United Nations, which are embodied in this Declaration, constitute basic principles of international law and consequently appeal to all states to be guided by these principles in their international conduct and to develop their mutual relations on the basis of strict observance of these principles.[22]

From these citations from the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among states in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, it transpires that organizing, patronizing or mobilizing, whatever the case may be, of terrorism against one state is a direct violation of the UN Charter as well as international law and hence states are obliged not only to refrain from giving this sort of support to any terrorist group, but also to actively co-operate with other countries to stamp out terrorism. In the case of Bangladesh and India, active co-operation is more necessary, as any rise of fundamentalism may prove seriously

detrimental to economic interests of these two countries. Following the September 11 incidents, Bangladesh is really struggling to establish its image as a moderate Muslim country. Recent incidents of Mymensingh bomb blasts and sensational Bogura ammunition haul that have attracted the attention of the world community are certain to adversely affect the image of Bangladesh. Any omission, which encourages any insurgency against a sovereign state, is also a violation of international law. It was true during the insurgency in the Chittagong Hill Tracts and now it is not of less importance when India is frequently claiming that ULFA and other terrorist groups are operating from Bangladesh. Here, for the sake of its own benefit, Bangladesh should take a clear stand and co-operate with India in curbing terrorism. Following the incident of Bogura ammunition haul no proper inquiry was initiated. Citizens of the country have the right to know what action the government has taken about these incidents.

Terrorism has been a ubiquitous phenomenon in South Asian countries much before it hit the United States in a grievous and dramatic fashion on 11 September 2001. These countries have been the victims of one or more of the following forms of terrorism: as a part of the Al Qaeda network; arising out of religious fundamentalism; brought about by structural factors such as extreme and large-scale poverty, glaring inequality, prolonged and gross forms of injustice; and as a result of the general collapse of law and order.[23] Terrorism has adversely affected development and imposed heavy economic costs on most of the South Asian countries. Direct costs are in the nature of the destruction of infrastructure, factories and standing crops and stoppage of economic activities. Indirect costs are varied and arise out of general loss of confidence in the economy and the consequent inability to attract foreign investment, brain drain, enhanced military expenditure, high transaction costs and various kinds of economic distortions.[24]

All the development partners of Bangladesh have also expressed 'serious concern at the deterioration of governance situation in Bangladesh, especially the situation of law and order, political violence including recent bombings, and the climate of impunity' at a meeting held at Washington DC on 23 and 24 February 2005.

The objective of establishing a country free from fear and terror would remain a distant dream, if we are unable to address the political

environment in the country, as well as in the region in a just and realistic manner. This vision could only be transformed into reality if we were able to overcome our differences and create a climate of trust and confidence. However, at the same time the peremptory norms of international law, as enshrined in the United Nations Charter, must be upheld. That is the key way out.

I have so far only spoken about the problems of Bangladesh and how they are affecting our neighbour, the world's largest democracy, India, in particular and also Sri Lanka and Nepal. But for a long-term and comprehensive solution we need 'Strategic Planning' at both national and international levels.

In the words of the British expert, Sir David Omand GCB, 'This co-operation should actually be a grand strategic level co-operation.' Unless we have an international agreement on a longer term and comprehensive counter-terrorist strategy, we cannot match the ever-growing threats.

The experience of Bangladesh, where religious extremism is increasingly becoming a threat to our national security, this conference may pause for a moment and note how the lack of co-operation among the stakeholders of the country and the international community has indirectly assisted the proliferation and the spread of international terrorism with exogenous support.

Quite a number of Al Qaeda leaders have been arrested — Hambali in Singapore and the rest in Pakistan — but the threat is not decreasing, rather it is increasing. We must remember that along with the war of attrition, we should develop our 'strategy'. The strategy will require developing our own 'ideological script' to fight that of the terrorists.

The terrorist's ideology projected through the Internet and video technology is like a biological parasite that mutates as it spreads. If we have seen the suicide video of Mr Seddique Khan, we can learn a lot.

Our counter-terrorism strategy should involve a multiplicity of governmental and inter-governmental agencies including private sectors and academic bodies, diplomats, civil society leaders, government agencies, the security industry and all other stakeholders. The best way is, as someone said, 'the "4Ps" i.e., prevention, pursuit, protection and preparation', and these will be useful tools to fight

international terrorism effectively. All of us present here owe this to our people, whose security and welfare is the primary responsibility of all the respective governments.

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[14] Charter of United Nations, Preamble, Para 4.

[15] Charter of United Nations, Preamble, Para 7.

[16] Article 1, Principle. The principle that states shall refrain in their international relations from threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purpose of the United Nations, Para 8.

[17] Para 10.

[18]The principle concerning the duty not to intervene in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of any state, in accordance with the Charter.

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[20]Principle 2, Para 2.

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Terrorism in Punjab: Rise and Decline

Jagrup S Sekhon

The term 'terrorism' has different meanings to different people and groups as per the socio-political conditions in which it is used for different reasons and purposes. As there is no consensus on the definition of terrorism, it becomes difficult to explain it in objective terms and take any ideological position. The definition and the explanation given here are mostly based on the western perspective of terrorism. This paper is a modest attempt to explain the term 'terrorism' and understand what has happened in Punjab. The paper is divided into three parts. Part I explains the theoretical perspective of terrorism and various aspects related to it. Part II presents the Punjab experience of terrorism from 1978 to 1992 and Part III sums up the study by explaining the various reasons of its decline in Punjab.

I

Terrorism is not a recent phenomenon. Throughout the past few decades, there has been a steady and continuous rise in terrorism in many parts of the globe. In recent times, it has generated a flood of literature in academic, military and journalistic areas. Terrorism usually refers to threats, violence, intimidation and physical manipulation of the behavior of others by using violent methods.[1] The Oxford English Dictionary defines terrorism as 'the state of being terrified and greatly frightened: intense fear, fright or dread, the action or quality of causing dread'.[2] In other words it means creating systematic coercion and intimidation. It is also defined as 'the purposeful act or threat of act of violence to create fear and climate of panic, or collapse, to destroy public confidence in government and security agencies or to coerce communities and others into obeying the terrorist leadership.[3] The definition of terrorism given by RAND

Corporation is that 'terrorism is violence, or the threat of violence, calculated to create an atmosphere of fear and alarm'.[4]   Mark Jurgensmeyer, while defining it, has stated that it has come from the Latin word 'terrere', meaning 'to cause to tremble' which later on came into common usage in the political sense, as an assault on civil order during the Reign of Terror in the French Revolution in the late eighteenth century. The definition of a terrorist act according to him is a public act of destruction without a clear military objective, which arouses a widespread sense of fear or insecurity. It is an anxiety-inspiring method or repeated violent action, employed by (semi-) clandestine individuals, groups or state actors for idiosyncratic, criminal or political reasons. The immediate victims of terrorism are generally chosen randomly (targets of opportunity) or selectively (representative or symbolic targets) from the target population.[5]

Terrorism has not only become endemic and vicious but a serious challenge to the global human community. No society, howsoever powerful or united it may be, is free from its menace. As Marten Van Creveld[6] has rightly stated, in today's world, the main threat to many states including specifically the USA, no longer comes from other states. Instead it comes from small groups and organizations engaged in terrorist violence. In this context the term 'terrorism' is more frequently associated with violence committed by a large number of groups owing allegiance to different ideologies and objects for the achievement of desired results. On the other hand it is not a fixed phenomenon as its perpetrators adopt it to suit their times and situations. A terrorist act is committed by organized groups who manage the state apparatus or vice versa (terrorists' organizations). The states which operate on a large scale and employ coercive forces, i.e., police, military and para-military forces, wreak havoc by its use, usually killing, injuring, kidnapping, torturing and terrorizing innocent and common people fighting for a cause.

It has also been seen that terrorism's advocates always employ it in the name of freedom and a right cause. The official or state definition of terrorism is that any force used against the state is illegal, since the state only claims the monopoly of legitimate coercion. This explanation is correct as long as the public as a whole accepts it, but since in reality the public is plural, so the possibility of its acceptance is questioned.[7]   That is why till date there is no universally accepted definition of the term 'terrorism', for the simple reason that it is not a

scientific category, but a common sense observation.[8] In this way it becomes quite difficult to draw a line between what is terrorism and what is not, while analyzing violence in the state. It is sometimes described as terrorism, lawlessness, gangsterism, banditry or criminality and sometimes as genuine uprising, revolt against repressive and coercive regimes. In such situations each side blames the other for such activities. In this context explaining the term 'terrorist' is also problematic, as the term makes no clear distinction between the organizers of an attack, those who carry it out, and the many who support it both directly or indirectly. Are they all terrorists, or just some of them? Do all people using violent means fall in the category of terrorists? This is where the difficulty arises where 'one man's terrorist can be another man's freedom fighter'. In this way the meaning of terrorism is how an individual views it. Another problem with the word is that it can be taken to single out a certain limited species of people called 'terrorists', who are committed to violent acts. The implication is that such terrorists are hell-bent to commit terrorism for whatever reason, sometimes chasing religion or ideology to justify their acts.[9]

The argument whether terrorism is successful as an instrument or strategy is to be seen in its total perspective. It can be effective without being successful, since it can produce decisive results that could be usually counterproductive. But if it is without any consequences, it has clearly failed. Thus the question arises what factors determine the effectiveness and result-oriented approach. This question seems to be the most important one to understand the nature of factors. Such an inquiry involves not only the clearly stated objects or targets but also the intentions and socio-political profile of the actors involved in this process. On the other hand the role of governments and oppositions, against which it is being launched, may also initiate terrorism or counter-terrorism as considered response to the actions of the adversary. Terrorism is usually used as an instrument for purposive violence having a strategic plan. It is also considered to be both a 'method of action' or 'logic of action'.[10] Michel Wieviorka is of the view that as a method, terrorism is a common form of violence where it is being used as a tool to be employed to achieve a goal. Terrorism, according to him, is always a method, but under some circumstances in some groups or movements, it is something else also. The actors not only use terror as a tool but accept terror as an end in itself. The means become an end. In such cases of pure, extreme violence, terrorism is the logic of action that literally dictates the actor's attitudes and behaviour.[11]

Terrorism is also considered a weapon[12] of the weak, a shadowy way to wage war by attacking asymmetrically, in order to harm and try to defeat an ostensibly superior force and having a particular appeal to ethno-nationalists, racists, militias, religious fundamentalists and other minorities who cannot match the military formations and firepower of their oppressors (both real and imagined). Such acts arise when weaker parties are unable to challenge an adversary directly and thus turn to asymmetric methods. In such situations, the strategic aim is to inflict maximum damage to the adversary, i.e., the state or its apparatus. This type of violence is usually undertaken by terrorists on their own behalf or in the service of a community or group based on ideology, religion and ethnicity. It is also considered the weapon of the proletariat and is used to bring down the bourgeois world of power, where its purpose is not to kill people or purposeless sacrifice. The use of violent methods is simply considered pure and simple, the supreme act of resistance with the aim of moral regeneration in collective action through the strike. Georges Sorel distinguished between 'middle class force', which he considered acts of sheer destruction against the lives and property of society's victims, and 'proletariat violence', in which these victims, seeking to be free, resist the coercive authority of their masters and assert their moral and voluntary power to take control of their own lives.[13] In this context, terrorism is used as a weapon against established regimes, which in the eyes of actors are not legitimized ones.[14]

Ideology has an important role in pushing the terrorists towards terrorist/ revolutionary organizations. It also determines the mode of action that invariably is armed struggle and the general content of these ideologies is identifying and defining the enemy and a clear vision for making future society. On the basis of ideology, the organizations permit themselves the use of violent actions or terrorist practices and remove constraints against the use of illegal strategies. It also offers furthermore the adoption of armed actions and military structures, radicalization of tactics, and organizing formulas, as an instrument to strengthen the identity of the organization. Ideologies are also rationalizations for decisions to escalate violence.[15] This also helps in reducing the psychological costs of participation in terrorist organizations. It benefits these organizations by reducing the information needed to act, by simplifying the complexities of the real world and providing the symbols upon which to build a collective identity. The ideology of the terrorist organizations generally offer (a) a

justification of political violence, (b) an image of the external world that masks the failures of the armed struggle, and (c) a positive evaluation of the role of individual action.[16]

Terrorist organizations usually orient ideology to recruitment, as the literature relating to such ideologies emphasizes the primacy of practice over theory, appeals to violence as a way of 'waking up the working class, romantic confidence in voluntarism of small vanguards, etc.' The ideology of terrorist groups is often seen, in such cases, as a governing factor in their strategic choices. It is, in fact, used for enlarging the potential supporters of an organization by adopting some symbols and values highly valued in certain groups.[17] The ideology justifies political violence and political murder as a tradition of the working class. It also legitimizes violence through a depersonalization of the victims, defined as nothing but parts of the state apparatus. The victims are considered not as human beings made of flesh and blood, but as symbols.

Terrorism purposively uses fear as means to attain certain goals and is, by nature, coercive and dehumanizing. It is considered to be a threat of the absurd and designed to manipulate its victims and, through them, a large audience and the foremost victim of it is social and civic order. It affects the life styles and habits of all those who live under the shadow of it with persistent threats, bomb blasts, extortions, kidnapping or killing. The fear generated by various terrorist groups has social costs, weakening the social and political fabric of the affected societies.[18] The main terrorist activities, according to Christopher Dobson and Ronald Payne[19], consist of murder by gunning down people in streets, assassination of political leaders and prominent personalities, bombing of public places and houses of private people, kidnapping of prominent people for ransom or some other purposes, hijacking of aircraft and armed bank robberies and raids and extortions to get money for sustaining the movement. Though kidnapping is considered to be the third most popular action of the terrorists after explosives, bombing and threats, yet it is a major source of income for the terrorist groups in the world. It enables them to buy more weapons and ammunition, safe houses, vehicles and other facilities to continue the movement. It does not only boost the morale of those involved in it, but also provides incentives to others to join it.[20] Brain Jenkins[21] is of the view that 'kidnappings are most likely in countries where the terrorists are operating on home terrain and have an underground organization

... (and) ... barricade and hostage incidents are more likely when the terrorists are operating abroad or in countries where they lack the capability of sustaining underground operations'.

The organizational structure of terrorist groups is usually not suitable for attracting new recruits, as clandestine working and compartmentalization reduce the possibility of making contact with potential recruits. On the other hand, centralization and hierarchy in the organization also discourages and slows down the entry of new members in it and there is no space for external sympathizers. Only those who are able to pass a long screening process that evaluates military courage and fidelity to the organization are generally accepted. The rules on centralization and vertical hierarchy are strictly respected and disagreement is not tolerated. Typical of this structure are the left-oriented organizations, whose military vocabulary is particularly striking.[22] There are two types of terrorists operating for and in the organization, i.e., irregular and regular. The 'irregular' terrorists usually accomplish the task of recruitment, while the 'regulars' are clandestine, engaged fulltime and live underground. The irregular terrorists could keep their jobs and contact with their families, so that they could mobilize sympathizers by winning popular support for the organization.

II

Before discussing terrorism in Punjab, there is need to have a look into various studies and explanations. Though there is a plethora of writings and explanations yet a few of studies like V N Narayanan's *Tryst With Terror* (1996), Gurpreet Singh's *Terrorism: Punjab's Recurring Nightmare* (1996),*Genesis Of Terrorism; An Analytical Study Of Punjab Terrorists* by Satpal Dang (1988) and K P S Gill's, *Knights Of Falsehood* (1997) need special mention because they have focused on ground level realities tending to explain why it happened. On the other hand, a few theoretical explanations focus on various aspects of the rise of terrorism in Punjab.

The primacy of religion was considered to be an important contributing factor for the rise of terrorism in Punjab. Mark Juergensmeyer[23] viewed the bloody rebellion on the part of Sikhs as a religious revolt against secular ideology, which often accompanies a

modern state. What happened in Punjab was part of it. The advocacy of religious nationalists was very much available in the opinions of politically active religious leaders, particularly Sant Bhindranwale, who offered clues to 'religious sensibilities of the militants and their implications'.

The political economy model[24] explains the contradictions created by the forces of modernization and development process which emerged from the Green Revolution. These contradictions made social costs prominent. This development process accentuated the inequalities not only in the agricultural class but also in society as a whole. The new opportunities benefited the privileged and better endowed sections of big farmers. It ultimately resulted in widening the gaps in the agricultural population, which increased social tensions and a threat perception among the socially and economically marginalized sections, while on the other hand the capitalist farmers turned to utilize religious issues for mobilizing the marginal peasantry around notions of discrimination against the Sikh community. The thrust of the explanation is that the discontentment and disillusionment generated by socio-economic transformation created the context in which Sant Bhindranwale's combative rhetoric was able to secure ready supporters and adherents.

The state interventionist explanation[25] emphasizes the role of the Indian State in the rise of terrorism in Punjab. The denial of communal safeguards, overcentralization of power by the Centre and political manipulations by the Congress, particularly in the post-Nehru era, were a few factors of this explanation. The argument in this explanation by Dipenkar Gupta was that the agitation in Punjab was pushed into militant ethnicity and terrorism by the Centre and was the cynical political manipulation by the Congress. The emergence of Indira Gandhi at the national scene posed a formidable challenge to the Sikh ruling elite in their aspirations for political domination. The dismissal and fall of non-Congress governments, centralized the nation-building agenda of the Congress and continuous overcentralization of power by the Centre, etc., increased the threat perceptions of the Sikhs.

Manipulation of the political elite tends to emphasize their struggle for power in the state. Various strategies and manipulations were devised by the major players in pursuit of their power interests. This included the ruthless and unprincipled intervention by the Centre

during Indira Gandhi's regime and the sheer opportunism of the Akalis and other political elite. A partisan version comes from KPS Gill's book *Punjab: Knights of Falsehood*, where he attributes the rise of terrorism exclusively to the four decades of machinations and propaganda, feeding the Sikh community on a diet of mythical suffering, victimization and the construction of the 'other' etc.

The terrorist violence in Punjab started with a violent clash at Amritsar between the adherents of the Nirankari sect and the followers of Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale on 13 April 1978, in which more than a dozen followers of the latter were killed. This incident tended to provide legitimacy as well as excuse for armed attacks on the Nirankaris including the murder of its chief, Baba Gurbachan Singh in 1980. Some other events of this time were the formation of the Dal Khalsa, Akali Dal congregation at Ludhiana in October 1978, election of the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC) in 1979 in which the Sant was marginalized, the murder of the editor of *Panjab Kesari*, Lala Jagat Narain, the dramatic arrest and release of Sant Bhindranwale in this case, dismissal of the Akali Government and the formation of a Congress Government in the early 1980s, etc. The period between 1978 and 1984 experienced an unforeseen rise in the informal power wielded by Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, under whose leadership a large number of persons were eliminated by his squads and the Golden Temple was fortified with sophisticated weapons of war.

This reign of terror unleashed by the Sant ended with army intervention under the code name 'Operation Blue Star' in June 1984, with the objective of flushing out terrorists from the Golden Temple complex. The fierce battle that raged inside the complex resulted in a significant loss of life and destruction of the Akal Takht. The Sant and his close aides were killed. The attack on this most sacred place of the Sikhs had far-reaching consequences. In addition to the tremendous anger and anguish exhibited by the Sikh masses, there was revolt, in a Sikh Regiment of the Indian Army. Mrs Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India, was assassinated by her Sikh bodyguards within a few months of the attack on the Golden Temple, and as a consequence, Sikhs in Delhi and some other places in the country became, for the first time, the targets of killing and destruction of their property by armed crowds. These developments brought, though temporarily, a division between the Indian State and the Sikh community.

The general elections that took place after the assassination of Mrs Indira Gandhi gave unprecedented victory to the Congress Party in the lower House of the Indian Parliament. Soon after that the central leadership and various groups and political parties initiated the process of ending the divide which resulted in the signing of Rajiv-Longowal Accord in July 1985. Though Sant Longowal was shot dead by the terrorists within a month of the accord, yet the restoration of the democratic process and formation of the Akali Dal Government raised hopes of an end to the era of hatred and warfare. But the non-implementation of the Rajiv-Longowal Accord, intra- party conflict in the Akali Dal, opportunistic politics of the leaders of both Congress and Akali Dal, etc., resulted in the derailment of the political process in the state, which ultimately resulted in the dismissal of the elected government in Punjab. The dismissal of the Barnala Government and the imposition of President's rule in May 1987, hampered the process of effectively dealing with terrorist violence. On the other hand, the declaration of Khalistan and the social reform movement launched by the Panthic Committee and various terrorist organizations, worsened the already vexed situation in the state. There was a mushroom growth of terrorist organizations following the formation of a Panthic Committee and its declaration of armed struggle for 'Khalistan' during this period. Though 'Operation Black Thunder' in 1988 exposed the moral and political degeneration of the terrorist groups, soon after terrorism rose again and the body count of the people killed in terrorist violence started mounting. During this period over 25,000 people were estimated to have been killed in terrorist and police violence. The annual toll rose menacingly from a total of 598 in 1986 to 3788 in 1990, 4768 in 1991, coming down marginally to 3629 during the year 1992.[26]

The change of government at the Centre in 1989 witnessed a series of initiatives at the national level by three successive Prime Ministers, two of whom were from non-Congress political parties. When V P Singh took over as Prime Minister in 1989, he appealed to the terrorists to join the mainstream. The advocates and sympathizers of the militants won the majority of the Lok Sabha seats in the 1989 parliamentary elections. Simranjit Singh Mann who secured an unprecedented number of votes, raised hopes of a new political initiative. Mr Chandra Shekhar, who succeeded V P Singh as Prime Minister, pursued the line of conciliation towards the militants, through middlemen and direct negotiations. However, the terrorist killings in

Punjab reached new heights and the police appeared to be thoroughly demoralized and incapable of dealing with the situation. In 1991, P V Narasimha Rao became the Prime Minister, but the elections to the Punjab Legislative Assembly scheduled to be held in June were suddenly cancelled. During that year the annual toll of bloodshed, as mentioned earlier, surpassed all previous records. The new Prime Minister decided to hold elections in Punjab in February 1992 in which the Congress Party got a majority. The voting percentage was very low because of the threats from the terrorists and poll boycott by the Akali Dal. Beant Singh became the Chief Minister in 1992. Surprisingly, within a span of one year, the back of terrorism was effectively broken. Barring a few incidents of major importance, terrorist activities progressively declined to the extent of extinction by the end of 1993. During this period, the police remained the major instrument of suppression of terrorism and, in turn, came to be continuously accused of violation of human rights. Among those killed as suspected terrorists, hundreds remained unidentified. But the police was fully backed by the state. Though terrorism has practically ended, the 14 years of continuous violence have left an indelible mark on Punjabi society.

A part of the study, more specifically the quantitative information given in Tables 1 to 4, has been taken from our earlier work on terrorist violence in Punjab.[27] A total of 28 villages were identified from where the maximum number of boys joined terrorism and the intensity of violence in terms of killing, migration, extortions, etc., was reported to be the highest. The study is based on first-hand information about the socio-economic profile of the terrorists who joined different terrorist organizations. Our quantitative data show that there were two phases of recruitment of boys joining the movement of Khalistan, i.e., first from 1978 to 1985 and the second from 1986-1992. The first phase started with the initial call of Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale after the 1978 clash with Nirankaris and subsequent developments when he appealed to the Sikhs to take up weapons (*Shastradhari bano*). He exhorted that every village should have young men with motor cycles and revolvers and asked them to use the weapons against the enemies of the faith. He perceived the government and its agents, Hindus and Communists, as enemies; and later on, all those who opposed his brand of ideology. The second phase of terrorism started after Operation Blue Star in which Sant Bhindranwale and his close lieutenants were killed.

The following information is related to the recruitment of boys from 28 studied villages, i.e., seven each from Amritsar, Majitha, Tarn Taran and Batala police districts. It is necessary to mention here that the maximum number of boys joined terrorism from the village of Sur Singh (41) in Tarn Taran police district, followed by Sultanwind (32) in Amritsar police district

Table 1 shows that a very small number of boys, i.e., 37 (11.46%), out of a total, 323, joined terrorism during the first phase of terrorism, i. e., up to 1985. On the other hand, 254 boys (78.64%) became terrorists during the peak years of terrorism, i.e., 1986 to 1990. One of our respondents put it like this: *Dhanian thian dhanian bharti ho gaiyan* [hordes of riff raff got recruited].

Table 1
Recruitment of Militants

Year of Recruitment	Amritsar	Majitha	Tarn Taran	Batala	Total
1979	-	-	-	1	1
1980	-	3	-	2	5
1981	1	-	1	1	3
1982	-	-	-	-	-
1983	-	-	1	2	3
1984	4	1	7	4	15
1985	2	1	5	2	10
1986	7	8	15	8	38
1987	11	8	14	4	37
1988	14	15	22	17	68
1989	7	12	30	13	62
1990	12	19	12	6	49
1991	7	8	5	4	24
1992	3	2	-	-	5
Year not Known	2	1	-	-	3
Total	70	77	112	64	323

Table 2 explains the education levels of the terrorists, which not only defy the general thesis of educated unemployed youth joining terrorism but also present a pattern contrary to the established notions about who became terrorists in other parts of the globe.[28] (See Table 2 on next page)

Table 2
Education of the Terrorists (Police District-wise)

Sr. No.	Education	Amritsar	Majitha	Tarn Taran	Batala	Total
1.	Illiterate	12 (15.38)	13 (16.67)	43 (55.13)	10 (12.82)	78 (24.15)
2.	Primary	12 (42.86)	6 (21.43)	7 (25.00)	3 (12.82)	28 (8.67)
3.	Middle	14 (25.45)	10 (18.18)	14 (25.45)	17 (12.82)	55 (17.03)
4.	Matric	23 (17.29)	40 (30.08)	40 (30.08)	30 (12.82)	133 (41.18)
5.	+2 Level	04 (21.05)	7 (36.84)	7 (36.84)	1 (12.82)	19 (5.88)
6.	B.A.	05 (71.42)	-	1 (14.29)	1 (14.29)	7 (2.17)
7.	M.A./LL.B./ MBBS	-	1 (33.33)	-	2 (66.67)	3 (0.92)
	Total	70	77	112	64	323

Ideology has a vital role in pushing the boys towards terrorism and making them activists of various terrorist organizations. It helps them to determine the choices and identify the enemy and targets. It provides one's identity and the idea of fighting for a cause.

Table 4 explains the ideological impulse of joining terrorism in Punjab. It comes out that the ideology of 'adventure' emerged as the single largest reason for joining terrorism in Punjab. A total of 123 [38.09] boys of this category joined, considering it a reward in itself of having an 'adventurous life.' The dangers involved in such participation were considered 'the expression of a dynamic and interesting life,' opposed to the dullness of normal life. Together with adventure, action becomes rewarding. The fascination with guns acknowledged by many of the surrendered terrorists was that 'AK 47 assault rifles not only gave them a sense of being powerful but made them more macho...'. This belief, along with other rewards, was responsible to push a large number of boys to terrorist organizations.

In this situation, the self-image that terrorist groups tried to project in the initial phase of terrorism changed with the passage of time and circumstances, and turned towards the army of looters, extortionists, kidnappers, rapists, etc. With this development, the very meaning and interpretation of the armed struggle as a stimulus to a

revolutionary movement degenerated into the targeting of innocent victims or those who opposed their brand of violence. Participation in such activities is usually connected with addictive personalities.[29]

<div align="center">Table 3</div>
<div align="center">Occupation before They became Terrorists</div>

Sr. No.	Occupation	Number	Percentage
1.	Farming	118	36.53
2.	MBBS/Lawyer	2	0.62
3.	Foreign returned	3	0.93
4.	Flour Mill Owner	1	0.31
5.	Shopkeeper/Small Businessmen/Contractor	6	1.86
6.	Workshop Owner	1	0.31
7.	Cattle/Grain Trader	2	0.62
8.	Pathi	6	1.86
9.	Policeman	7	2.17
10.	Soldier	9	2.79
11.	Clerk SGPC	2	2.72
12.	Govt. Service (Lower)	5	1.55
13.	Photography	1	0.31
14.	R.M.P	5	1.55
15.	Ex-servicemen ITBP/Army (Retired)	5	1.55
16.	Tailor	1	0.31
17.	Mason/Carpenter/Blacksmith	5	1.55
18.	Motor Mechanic	4	1.23
19.	Weaver	1	0.31
20.	Barber	1	0.31
21.	Auto-Rickshaw Driver	2	0.62
22.	Mini Bus/TruckDriver	4	1.23
23.	Tonga Driver	1	0.31
24.	Milkman/Vegetable Vendor	3	0.93
25	Factory Worker	2	0.62
26.	Casual/Attached Worker	14	4.33
27	Smuggling	4	1. 23
28.	Illicit Liquor Distillers	7	2.17
29..	Thief/Looter	1	0.31
31.	Doing Nothing	80	24.77
30.	Not Applicable/ Students	20	6.19
	Total	323	100

Table 4
Ideology behind Joining Terrorism

Sr. No.	Education	Amritsar	Majitha	Tarn Taran	Batala	Total/ Percentage
1.	Adventurism	22	31	51	19	123/(38.09)
2.	Smuggling/ Looting	22	31	51	19	123/(38.09)
3.	Contact with Terrorists	22	31	51	19	123/(38.09)
4.	For Khalistan	22	31	51	19	123/(38.09)
5.	Inter-family enmity	22	31	51	19	123/(38.09)
6.	Relations with terrorists	22	31	51	19	123/(38.09)
7.	Terrorist leader in the village	22	31	51	19	123/(38.09)
8.	Influence of Bhindranwale	22	31	51	19	123/(38.09)
9.	Harassment by terrorists	22	31	51	19	123/(38.09)
10.	Harassment by Police	4	1	2	1	8/(2.48)
11.	Operation Blue Star	4	1	1	2	8/(2.84)
12.	Due to elder brother	2	-	3	2	7/(2.17)
13.	Emotionalism	-	2	-	-	4/(1.24)
14.	Failure of financial companies	-	3	-	-	3/(0.62)
15.	Unemployment	-	-	1	1	2/(0.62)
16.	To seek revenge	-	-	2	-	2/(0.62)
17.	Personal or family problem	-	-	2	-	2/(0.62)
18.	To get married	-	1	-	1	2/(0.62)
19.	Delhi riots	-	1	-	-	1/(0.31)
20.	Fear of court martial	-	-	1	-	1/(0.31)
21.	To get his land back	-	1	-	-	1/(0.31)
22.	Beaten by upper caste class	-	1	-	-	1/(0.31)
23.	Not Known fellows	2	2	-	1	5/(1.55)
	Total	70	77	112	64	323(100)

Terrorist Organizations and their Structures.

The following terrorist organizations were active in Punjab:

- All India Sikh Students Federation [AISSF]
- Dal Khalsa
- Babbar Khalsa International [BKI]
- Bhindranwala Tigers Force of Khalistan (Manochal) [BTFK (M)]
- Bhindranwala Tigers Force of Khalistan (Sangha) [BTFK(S)]
- Khalistan Commando Force (Panjwar) [KCF (P)]
- Khalistan Commando Force (Zafarwal) [KCF (Z)]
- Khalistan Liberation Army [KLA]
- Khalistan Liberation Force [KLF]
- Dashmesh Regiment [DR]
- Khalistan Liberation Organization [KLO]
- Khalistan Mukti Fauj [KMF]
- Malwa Kesri Commando Force [MKCF]
- Khalistan Mukti Force [KMF]
- Akal Federation [AK]
- Saffron Force [SF]

It may be mentioned here that the first 11 of these were well-known terrorist organizations, while the last five came into existence in the later years of the terrorist movement and these were not much known and their activities were more or less confined to the Malwa region of Punjab.

Panthic Committee

It was an underground umbrella group formed by some terrorist organizations, and served as a self-styled policymaking and guiding force for terrorist's activities. It tried to provide a common platform to various terrorist organizations with the main agenda of coordinating and establishing functional relations among the terrorist organizations and groups for the attainment of its declared goal of Khalistan.

Structure of the Terrorist Organizations

- Chief or General
- Lieutenant General

- Major General
- Area Commander
- Recruits (Terrorists)

These organizations, except BKI and AISSF, had their heads known as Chief or General, but in the case of BKI it was '*Mukh Sewadar*' (Chief Servant) and in AISSF it was President. In this hierarchy, the next position was that of Lt. General followed by Major General. In BKI, the position of Lt. General was equivalent to the Jathedar (organizer of a region) and in AISSF it was Vice-President. The number of these positions varied from one organization to another, subject to the total number of terrorists in it. The next position was of the area commander and each area commander headed usually 9-15 terrorists. It is worth mentioning here that the area commanders usually did not operate in the areas to which they belonged. It was the smallest unit in the organization, but the most important tasks were being carried out by it. Usually, orders for all types of actions came from above and the area commander was responsible for executing the orders. In addition to it, all the weapons and planning also came from above and in exceptional cases, the area commander had the liberty to some extent to take steps for any type of coordination, or change, to achieve the given orders.

Unlike other terrorist organizations operating in various parts of the globe, there was a novel way of getting boys recruited to about more than a dozen terrorist organizations in Punjab. As it has been mentioned earlier, the left and other religiously motivated organizations have total rigidity and compartmentalized methods of recruitment, where the choices to enter or to move out are limited. But in the case of Punjab, the situation seemed to be different. In the first half of the 1980s, i.e., up to 1985, at least some rules applied here, particularly the choice was limited to something for a 'cause'. That was one of the reasons that in this phase a very small number of boys joined terrorism.[30] The other reason was limited choice, only two prominent organizations were active and in existence, i.e., Babbar Khalsa International and All India Sikh Students Federation. But after that, the changing situation paved the way for the maximization of recruitment opportunities, even at the cost of a heightened risk to their lives. It became possible only with the mushroom growth of terrorist organizations, groups and various Panthic committees. These newly formed terrorist organizations were weak, fragmented and lacked

compartmentalization. There was no mechanism for special checks at the entry point to allow or disallow entry to a group. It became almost free for all and a large number of boys joined terrorism.

Though the flexibility of such an organizational model was quite effective for recruitment, it made the organization utterly weak, diminishing dramatically in effectiveness. In such organizations, there was neither any defined mechanism for recruitment of new recruits nor any screening process. Recruitment of new members was actually accomplished for various reasons. There were two categories of people involved in terrorist activities, i.e., active and passive. The activists were clandestine, engaged full time and mostly lived underground, while the police sought them. The passive group provided shelter, food, information about police and other related facilities to mobilize sympathizers for the movement.

Secondly, the organizational model of terrorist organizations in Punjab was faction ridden. The dissention later, increased when repression by the state increased and social support started declining[31]. Though some groups, particularly the BKI, originally gave the impression of being well organized, disciplined and compartmentalized, yet later on, it also proved not a distinct organization in terms of degeneration of its rank and file.[32] In addition to this, a majority of the organizations lacked the kind of unity and identity that is suggested by an organizational history. Not only were there conflicts and tussles at the very apex of the hierarchy in various organizations from the beginning, but the unity of command between leadership and operatives was more of a myth than a reality. There was a constant breakdown of a few terrorist organizations, particularly KCF, BTFK and the emergence of many more and largely autonomous groups, which carried out independent actions. These groups were united, if at all, by myth only, without any organizational structure and evidence of functioning as an organization. Once these organizational structures became weaker, disorganized and disunited, because of the absence of a central command and political and ideological rationale, more terrorists were involved in the killings to resolve inter-family and intra-family conflicts and indulged in extortion, kidnapping and other violent anti-social actions involving physical harm to unintended victims. This was the beginning of a growing moral estrangement between the original thrust and ideals and the mentally and psychologically sick recruits.

This wilful dilution of the moral thrust of terrorist activists becomes clear after examining the frustrated views of a former prominent leader of All India Sikh Students Federation[33] (AISSF), who after spending three years behind bars said that 'AISSF and other terrorist organizations had become irresponsible organizations and all those working in these were responsible for this degeneration'. While continuing his argument, he commented that 'the ruthlessness of the terrorists and the killing of innocent people made us think that we had lost our support base. It was the common people who suffered a lot and became the victims of both terrorists and the state apparatus'.

Terrorist Activities

Of the various activities of the terrorists, such as kidnapping, extortion, rape, looting, involuntary migrations[34] of the people and killing, etc., only the last could be quantitatively estimated. In all other cases, while there was little disagreement about such activities, a proper count was not possible. The number of violent incidents continuously increased during terrorist violence, which also included indiscriminate killing of people, setting fire to railway stations, bank robberies, attacks on the police, bombing and other indiscriminate shooting and various other activities including anti-social ones.

Table 5
Number of Persons Killed 1981-1993

Year	Civilian	Security Persons	Terrorists	Total
1981	13	2	14	29
1982	13	2	7	22
1983	75	20	13	108
1984	359	20	77	456
1985	63	8	21	92
1986	520	42	78	640
1987	910	95	328	1333
1988	1949	110	373	2432
1989	1168	201	703	2072
1990	2474	506	1411	4391
1991	2591	496	2309	5396
1992	1519	251	2109	3879
1993	46	23	748	817
Total	11700	1776	8191	21667

Source: Pramod Kumar, *"Violence in Retrospect,"* in J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga (eds.), *Punjab in Prosperity and Violence1947-97,* Chandigarh, Institute of Punjab Studies, 1998.

Table 6
Hindus and Sikhs killed by terrorists 1981-1991

Year	No. of Hindus	% of Hindus	No. of Sikhs	% of Sikhs
1981	10	76.92	3	23.08
1982	8	61.54	5	38.46
1983	35	46.67	40	33.98
1984	237	66.02	122	34.98
1985	45	72.58	17	27.42
1986	324	62.67	193	37.33
1987	425	47.07	478	52.93
1988	858	45.11	1044	54.89
1989	442	37.59	734	62.41
1990	743	30.49	1694	69.51
1991	744	28.71	1847	71.29
Total	3871	38.53	6177	61.47

Source: *The Times of India*, 9 February 1992 quoted in Paul Wallace, 'Political Violence and Terrorism in India: The Crisis of identity,' in Martha Crenshaw (ed.), *Terrorism Context*, Pennsylvania, University Press, 1995, p. 400.

The village view of the terrorists' activities was very different from that of the ideologues of the Khalistan movement. The actions and objectives of the terrorists as per our field study had no relationship with the ideology of Khalistan. Most of the terrorists belonged to families of poor, small and marginal farmers, were illiterate or school dropouts and weighed down by a low self-esteem and uncertain future.

Though some of the prominent actions by the terrorists like killing of top police officials and political figures in Punjab, murder of General Vaidya in broad daylight in Maharashtra, daring rescue of prominent terrorists including Sukhdev Singh Sukha, Ravinder Singh Bhola from police custody, etc., broad daylight bank decoities particularly at Ludhiana, launching of the social reform movement in 1987, etc., provided some legitimacy to the movement yet ultimately they could not sustain it because of various reasons.

III

The sustainability of any movement depends upon the nature of the issues raised and practised by its advocates and activists. Terrorism in Punjab was projected as a movement for the attainment of Khalistan. Various theories and explanations were presented to explain its rise. But the significant question arises here as to why the

explanation of the rise of terrorism in Punjab has little to do with the causes of its decline. The decline of terrorism has not received the required attention for its explanation. It is appropriate to mention here that almost no change was noticed in the objective conditions, and none of the adduced reasons or causes of the rise appeared to have been resolved.

There is need for looking into the relationship between reasons and explanations of the rise of terrorism and the role of terrorists in Punjab. The socio-economic background of the terrorists as per our study was that 82 per cent of them were Jats and the rest of the 18 per cent were from other castes of the Sikhs. Was the issue of Khalistan for the Jats only? The average land holding was 5.3 acres of a family of six members and the average age of joining terrorism was 22 years. The level of education (Table 2) and occupation (Table 3) before joining terrorism reflects their understanding of the broader issues/ explanations of terrorism in Punjab. The socio-economic profile of the chiefs of the organisations was not different from other terrorists. For example, the father of Gurbachan Singh Mannochal, the chief of BTKF, owned less than one acre of land before he took to terrorism. After that, the assets piled up in the form of acres of land, a brick kiln, fleet of trucks, a big house and lots of cash, etc. Wassan Singh Zaffarwal was working as a gatekeeper at Dhariwal Woollen Mills in Gurdaspur district before joining terrorism. General Labh Singh *urf* Sukha Sipahi, was a constable in Punjab police before taking up arms and later on rose to be the Chief of KCF.[35] The only difference was that all of them were Jats.

As mentioned earlier, ideology has an important role in pushing the boys into terrorism and determining the mode of actions. Ideology also helps in defining the enemy and a clear vision for the making of future society. Table 4 gives a clear picture of the ideological basis of the boys who joined terrorist organisations. Only 17(5.26%) persons became terrorists for the attainment of Khalistan. In terms of identifying the enemies, the available data show (Table 6) that 61.4 per cent of the total killings were of the Sikhs. If terrorism was for the attainment of Khalistan, i.e., for the Sikhs then why a large number of Sikhs became the victims? It is again appropriate to mention here that more than 80 per cent of the involuntary migrations from the villages were of Sikhs. Though there are various reasons attributed for the decline of terrorism in Punjab, the role of police in the later years of

terrorism and the passive and active resistance given by the people need special mention here.

Despite all the inherited and inbuilt negative aspects of the police, the Punjab Police has fought against terrorism under extremely difficult conditions and carried out its duties under onerous circumstances. Though the morale of Punjab Police was down during the initial years, later on it remained fairly high. Only three facts need be recounted.[36]

One, defections from the police force remained minimal during the terrorism days.

Two, thousands of young men, most of them Sikhs, offered themselves as fresh recruits not only to constables but to the lower ranks, such as Home Guards and Special Police Officers (SPOs).

Thirdly, the flow of information to the police started increasing in the later years of terrorism, which could only be possible because of (i) people's faith in police, and (ii) the degenerated activities of the terrorists.

The role of the state in countering terrorism became one of the important agendas to check the menace of terrorism. The Government of India in its White Paper on Punjab situation defined the Punjab problem in 1984 as the maturing of a secessionist and anti-national movement. The declaration of Khalistan was taken as a total war against the Indian State, which legitimized the 'bullet for bullet' policy of the police. It paved the way for the police to operate more or less unhindered by normal constitutional legal constraints. The enactment of the Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act in 1985-86 gave enormous powers to the state police to tackle the situation. Thousands of people were arrested and detained under this Act.

On the other hand the strength of Punjab Police was raised from a total of 28,853 in 1980 to 65,658 in 1993. Table 7 shows the increase in the manpower of the police, which excludes the Home Guards and SPO's.

In addition to the police force, as the DGP Punjab reported, 15,000 troops and 40,000 paramilitary men were engaged in the 'anti-terrorists offensive'. A total of six new police districts, viz., Tarn Taran, Majitha, Batala, Jagraon, Khanna and Barnala were created to effectively tackle terrorist activities. These districts were headed by an officer of the rank of Senior Superintendent of Police and the Police

system was almost made independent of the control of the civil administration. The number of police stations and police posts was raised from 201 and 91 in December 1980 to 288 and 94 respectively by the end of 1992.[37]

Table 7

Sanctioned Strength of Civil Police by Categories as on Ist April

Item	1980	1985	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Director General, Additional, Generals, Inspector -Generals, Additional Inspector- Generals & Deputy Inspector- General	7	24	27	27	28	28	36
Supdtts,Asstt.Supdtts. and Dy. Supdtts	196	337	394	400	401	401	511
Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors, Sergeants & Asstt.Sub-Inspectors	3,025	3,871	5,573	5,763	5,980	5,980	6, 780
Head Constables including Mounted Head Constables	4,664	6,428	8,292	8,541	8,631	8,631	10,449
Mounted Constables	184	184	184	184	184	184	184
Constables	20,777	24,311	37,363	38,408	38,618	38,802	47,698
Total	28,853	36,155	51,833	53,325	53,842	54,026	65,658

Source: *Statistical Abstract of Punjab 1993,* Government of Punjab Publications, 1994, p. 748.

In order to raise the morale of the police forces, the state Government announced handsome rewards and out-of-turn promotions for the apprehension/liquidation of specifically described terrorists. Besides financial rewards, quick promotions in the rank were promised and given to the killers of the terrorists. It led to a race among the lower ranks of police officials to liquidate wanted terrorists and grab this opportunity. It is relevant to mention here that a large number of policemen got out-of-turn promotion and a few of them soon headed the police districts though with lower ranks.

The police shot dead a large number of terrorists (in some cases innocent people) in the encounters. Though there is a lot of controversy

over such encounters, there are instances where real encounters took place. A few need special mention. An encounter in April 1991 in village Rataul in Tarn Taran police district lasted for 72 hours in which a DIG, Ajit Singh, more than half a dozen policemen and seven terrorists were killed. Another encounter took place in the same year in October in which Heera Singh Waryam, a dreaded terrorist along with his two fellow terrorists of BTFK got killed. The chief of Dashmesh Regiment, Sital Singh Mattewal, along with his comrades was killed in an encounter in village Mattewal. This encounter continued for 48 hours in which bullet proof tractors were used. The chief of the BTFK (M) Gurbachan Singh Manochal was also killed in an encounter.

The other steps taken by the police were to set up vigilante groups in the form of 'Alarm Sena', created by the then SSP of Amritsar Mohammad Izhar Alam, and the 'Black Cats' to infiltrate into the terrorist organizations for various reasons, like discrediting them and creating confusion and getting vital information about their activities. They were given honorary ranks as Special Police Officers and they seemed to be carrying a degree of authority. Most of them were surrendered terrorists and they knew the *modus operandi* of the terrorists. They were used as instruments of counter-terrorism and it was quite successful in the arrest of a large number of terrorists.

With the strengthening of the police network and the increased flow of information on terrorist activities from the people, the police raids became more and more numerous in most of the villages. The frequency of police raids shot up after 1988 and increased further in 1991. The police with the help of para-military forces and the army started 'Operation Night Dominance' and later began raids during the night. The families of the terrorists and those who gave shelter were made special targets. In this situation, anyone who was identified as a terrorist or supporter of the terrorists was dealt with severely. The police also used surrender as a tactical weapon to demoralize the ideologues of the movement. When the tide turned against the terrorists, a large number of them began to contact the police through middlemen or influential persons for a safer way out of terrorism than seemingly sure death. Huge gatherings were organized for surrender ceremonies where audio-visual media were skillfully used to put a tremendous psychological impact on all concerned.

The other important reason for the decline of terrorist movement was that at no point of time did it enjoy the support of the

whole community. A total of 40 percent Hindus in Punjab were identifiably excluded from this movement, while 20 per cent Sikhs were settled outside the state. Even the political party (ies) which claimed to be the representative of the Sikhs, like Akali Dal (S), remained ambivalent towards the movement of Khalistan. The Sikhs belonging to other political parties, i.e., the Congress and most importantly the CPI, CPI (M) and CPI (ML) not only opposed the terrorism vehemently, but also fought against it. In addition to it, the Schedule Caste Sikhs and the followers of various prominent religious sects like Radha Soamis, Nirankaris and a few sections of Nihangs, etc., were opposed to it. In this way one hardly finds a collective community support to the terrorist movement at any point of time.

In this context the role of the people in general cannot be overlooked while analyzing the decline of the terrorist movement in Punjab. Though it is very difficult to pin-point exactly the time when resistance by the people to terrorism began in Punjab, yet there are various references and instances which clearly show the rejection of the terrorists and their ideology. The turning point seems to be the post-Social Reform Movement era. The terrorists announced a 13 point 'Social Reform Movement' in March 1987. The very nature of this movement was coercive. The prominent features of this movement were related to the day-to-day life of the people, particularly Sikhs in Punjab. The logic of the movement was that there was a conspiracy by the Hindus to finish the Sikh *Qaum* (nation), to get Sikh youth addicted to intoxicants and to drive them on the path of evil. There were many more conspiracies to defame the Sikhs, from which the *Panth* must remain cautious. It was warned that if anybody defied any point of the Social Reform Movement, he would be awarded capital punishment.

A section of the people responded to some aspects of this social reform movement, which were meant to check social evils like dowry, consumption of liquor, killing animals for non-vegetarian food, corruption in government offices, use of intoxicants, etc. But, the excessive and unnecessary intervention by the terrorists in the name of enforcing the code of conduct in the day-to-day life of the people created resentment in their minds. The dress code prescribed for the students, ban on use of cosmetics, covering of heads by women folk, keeping unshorn hair and beard by the Sikh youth were considered to be a coercive imposition by the terrorists. It became free for all and this was the time when hordes of boys joined terrorism. On the other hand

there was a mushroom growth of terrorist organizations/groups which provided space to any one who wanted to join it (See Table 1). It ultimately resulted in chaos and lawlessness, particularly in the rural areas. Threatening letters were dispatched to the people to extort money, inter-family disputes were resolved forcefully. Humiliation of the people in public view, large-scale killing, or looting, kidnapping, rapes became the order of the day. This was the crucial time when a section of the people, who at one point of time were considered to be sympathetic to the terrorists became the worst victims of the Social Reform Movement. The terrorists started large-scale extortions during this period. The regular demands for money by them from the rich peasantry forced the latter to migrate to the cities and in some cases outside the state. The other reason for their migration was the safety of their women. They shared their reasons for migration with those of the Hindus, who had already migrated from the villages as the character of terrorism at that time was not so much discriminatory in its consequence.

The major incidence of widespread resistance was to be found among the peasantry in the form of the sale of scooters/motorcycles. In almost all the villages in Majha region, every family had disposed off the scooter/motorcycle or dispatched it out to friends/relatives in the cities. It may be noted that the Khalistani terrorists were operating in a state which had a fairly developed network of roads. In such a situation quick mobility was central to terrorist operations. Therefore, the terrorists had started snatching scooters/motorcycles on a large scale, as these were ideal for the movement on link roads. The people having these vehicles became the targets of the terrorists and had no alternative but to comply. The problem for an owner did not relate merely to financial loss. Greater trouble followed when a terrorist was either arrested/killed or abandoned the vehicle after an operation and it was recovered by the police. No villager could report to the police immediately after the vehicle taken away, for fear of the terrorists' wrath. So, notwithstanding the consequent discomfort for themselves, the scooter owners started selling the vehicles. The tractor owners started keeping the tyres of their tractors deflated, removal of a piece of machinery, cutting the fuel connection and keeping the fuel tank empty, so as to offer an excuse to the terrorists that the tractor was not in working order and required repairs. These were the fairly common practices adopted by the helpless peasantry to put up a form of passive

resistance to terrorism. In this way, the Jat Sikhs turned against the terrorists, first by not supporting them and later on by passing information to the police and para-military forces about the whereabouts of the terrorists.

Above all, it was the open and organized resistance[38] to the terrorists and their ideology of terrorism by individuals and groups which remained a source of inspiration and a ray of hope in an otherwise highly demoralizing sense of all round submission to the 'degenerate outlaws'. In such cases of armed resistance the help of the state police in providing arms, ammunition was very crucial in determining the outcome. At that point of time the state tended to assist any one who could dare the terrorists.

To sum up, it is pertinent to mention that the activities of the terrorists, which were centred on vendetta, family disputes, mercenary interests and assertion of power in their respective village situations were responsible to a great extent for the decline of terrorism in Punjab. This was admitted by Wassan Singh Zaffarwal, the then chief of one of the deadliest terrorist organization, i.e., Khalistan Commando Force (Zaffarwal), in his letter[39] sent from Pakistan to one of his close confidants in Gurdaspur. He noted that the militant movement had gone into the hands of 'truck drivers and petty criminals who are bringing bad name to the movement'. Mainly such activities became the reason for the decline of popular support. 'Terrorism was defeated not by the state force but by the activities of terrorists', as Joyce Pettigrew observed. In the end individual and collective resistance, as mentioned earlier, put up by the people, particularly the Communists, enabled the desperate and ruthless police force to quickly suppress terrorism.

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The Alternative Voice: Not a Hostile Voice*

M J Akbar

Islam and Muslim nations, particularly those with energy resources, are being subjected to an intellectual assault, based on a carefully constructed dialectic, disseminated through the mass media, that must be challenged by facts and reason. We Muslims lose the argument when we become either submissive-defensive, or aggressive-hysterical. There is a lot of space in between. We need to establish that an alternative voice is not a hostile voice. It is ironical that there should be so much misunderstanding between Americans and Muslims over faith, given that they may be the only true believers left. A Pew poll taken early this year indicated that 60 per cent of Americans pray once a day, 70 per cent say that the American President must have strong religious beliefs and 61 per cent favour tighter restrictions on a moral issue like abortion. I do not have equivalent figures for Muslims, but in each category the number would probably be the same or higher. A Muslim President or Prime Minister makes it a point to be seen periodically at Friday prayers. Europe, in contrast, lost religion to rationalism or one of its by-products, communism. Two European atheists, Marx and Lenin, had such impact that they ravaged Tao, Confucius and Buddha in half of Asia and Christ in half of Europe.

Religion is not limited to human reason. Faith is ethical, aesthetic, doctrinaire and inspirational. Islam acknowledges the power and beauty of the one Creator, Allah, and accepts that while we may know how we are born and die, we do not know why. Muslims believe in existence before and after death: *Inna lillahe wa inna e-laihe raajaoo* (From Allah we come, to Allah we go). The Islamic view of heaven and hell is no more 'unreasonable' than the Christian or Judaic one.

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* This paper is based on the presentation made by Mr M J Akbar on 9 September 2005 at a gathering in Makkah al-Mukarrammah (the full name of the holy city of Mecca).

Problems arise when one incidental aspect of a faith is wrenched from context and used to demonize a religion and its believers. Every suicide mission is sneered at as a journey to the virgins of Heaven rather seen for what it often (though not always) is: a cry of despair. Even a cursory reading of the Islamic text indicates that we do not retain our physical bodies after death and that the needs and pleasures of this life are very different from those of the next. But allegory is deliberately misrepresented, because it seeks to trivialize the roots of sacrifice, particularly the sacrifice of life. Demonization is conducted like a choir through the media and it must be answered. This answer must come from a common voice.

The Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) must have two sets of priorities: tactical and strategic. An immediate priority is to establish a common voice to win the battle for the mind. A critical fact: the intellectual onslaught against Muslims started long before 9/11, it was not a reaction. Huntington wrote about a clash of civilizations seven years before 9/11. It was a time when almost every Muslim nation had supported America in the wars for the liberation of Afghanistan and Kuwait. To blame the neocons is not enough. We have to answer them.

Judging by some of the reporting in the West, one would imagine that suicide was invented by Muslims. Suicide missions have always been an element of war tactics, with the highest honours being reserved for those who risk their lives to the maximum. One commentator wrote recently in the *Guardian* that surely Samson was the world's most famous suicide-missionary. Japanese air force pilots in the Second World War made kamikaze a tool of battle. The American reaction was interesting and is still relevant. 'The psychology behind (kamikaze) was too alien to us. Americans who fight to live, find it hard to realize that another people will fight to die,' said Admiral William Frederick Halsey (1884-1959), Commander of the US 3rd Fleet, after the kamikaze attack on *USS Intrepid*, 25 October 1944.

The Japanese did not view kamikaze as suicide: they called it a moral victory over cowards who take comfort in numbers. They told the pilots: 'Put the sorrows and joys of life behind you, for as you move towards death you move towards heaven.' Vice Admiral Takiiro Onishi wrote a haiku for the pilots:

Blossoming today, tomorrow scattered

Life is like a delicate flower

Can one expect the fragrance to last forever?

The most effective use of suicide missions, in what might be called irregular war, has been made by the Tamil Tigers of Sri Lanka, who are Hindus. One such mission took the life of a beloved Prime Minister of India, Rajiv Gandhi. But such has been the distortion of world opinion that the average person today believes that 'terrorism' is something created by the doctrines of Islam. This is calumny of the most perfidious kind.

We must address the complex and emotive reaction to events like 9/11 and the London bombings. I do not agree with suicide missions, but surely we need to understand that they are not all alike. In some cases, as during the obvious occupation of territory by a foreign, hostile power, a suicide mission becomes an expression of the depths of a young person's despair and desperation. We must work to end suicide missions by finding answers to that desperation. We must also define the difference between unacceptable terrorism and the need for struggle. There is no age in history without its share of problems and injustice. But if injustice is addressed through peaceful dialogue, which must always remain the objective of any sane individual or nation, then there is no need for armed struggle or suicide missions. This must be a central theme of our worldview.

A few weeks ago, in mid-August, I was at a seminar in Berlin on 'Europe and Modern Islam'. My German hosts, members of a political party that hopes to be in power later this month, were neither prejudiced nor malicious; in fact they were anxious to build bridges over the stream of ignorance that has entered contemporary consciousness. And yet, almost every prejudiced nuance about Muslims was raised, almost always unconsciously. The chairman of one session kept criticizing female circumcision until I pointed out that its origins were African-tribal. The *hijab*, naturally, was mentioned, until I argued that covering the head was a normal symbol of modesty for women in the East across religious denominations — and that I had never ever seen an icon or painting by a Christian of the Virgin Mary in which she did not wear a form of *hijab*; and that every Catholic nun till today wore the traditional headdress. It was a strange paradox, I thought, that a thong was considered civilized but a scarf was called barbaric. I heard the oft-repeated jibe that Muslims had not had their renaissance and had to point out that you needed renaissance only if you had gone through the Dark Ages: China, India, and the regions of the Ottoman Empire had no experience of such a dark age, for there were a hundred bookshops in Baghdad when Oxford University was still two hundred years away. A lady, who had a doctorate, said in

response to my remarks that a Muslim had assassinated Mahatma Gandhi and was astonished when I pointed out that a Brahmin called Godse had been the assassin. Like so many other Muslims, I too have been taunted and told that my religion is nothing but 'Jihad'. I am not defensive about the basic tenets of my faith. Islam is a religion of peace, but it recognizes that in certain conditions war may be forced upon you. It defines a legitimate war vis-a-vis an illegitimate one. Jihad is a war against injustice. The Prophet (Peace be upon Him) never took up arms during the long years of oppression and tyranny in Makkah; the war verses of the *Koran* were revealed only when persecution began to try and destroy the faith, and the Prophet was forced to take up arms against injustice. Jihad has clear rules: it has been stressed that you cannot kill women, children and innocents in a Jihad; you cannot even destroy palm trees. And hence my proposition: Every Jihad is a war fought by Muslims, but every war fought by Muslims is not a Jihad.

The very title of the Berlin seminar, 'Europe and Modern Islam', was nonsense. To begin with, there is nothing called modern or medieval or ancient Islam; Islam is Islam. Second, 'West' is geography and 'Islam' is a religion. How can you compare the two? You can discuss the West and West Asia, or South Asia, or wherever. Alternatively you can discuss Islam and Christianity. West vis-a-vis Islam means something only if there is a prejudiced sub-text in which 'West' implicitly corresponds to enlightenment, progress and all that is modern-good, while 'Islam' represents darkness, regress and all that is old-decadent. The notion of Islam as a 'barbaric' religion while Christianity was civilized, a staple of the Crusades, has not been eliminated from the discourse.

The term 'Islam', when used as a collective noun for Muslim nations, throws a range of different histories and cultures into a meaningless common basket: the reasons for Indonesia's current levels of economic, political and social development have absolutely nothing to do with Morocco's. To suggest that Islam has kept some nations both poor and/or autocratic is a corruption of facts and a reduction of complex reality to stupidity. Similarly, 'Islam and Democracy'. Islam is 1400 years old. How old is democracy? America is the only nation with any right to call democracy two centuries old, for the American Constitution is an outstanding template of individual and collective freedom. And yet   American democracy did not mean the same thing to a Black and a White a generation ago. It was only after the Voting Rights Act of 1965 that the number of registered African-American voters in a state like Mississippi rose from seven per cent in 1964 to 70

per cent by 1968. France promised itself liberty, equality and fraternity three years after America won her independence, but took another century before doing something institutional about it. Universal franchise in the mother of democracies, Britain, is a twentieth century story. Eastern Europe is just discovering the pleasures of adult franchise, and more than a billion Chinese have not known democracy till this day. I do not know if any academic institution has held a seminar on Confucianism and democracy. If many Muslim nations remain undemocratic, the reasons lie in their history, including, in many cases, the history of colonization and neo-colonization, rather than in faith.

It is wrong to blame Islam for the sins of Muslims. It was not Christianity's fault that Latin America was mostly run by dictators who went to church. Islam does not glorify autocracy; instead it consciously advocates democratic ideas like social justice, equality and charity as fundamental principles. Progressive Muslim scholars have noted consistently that Islam is a democratic doctrine. In 1940, one of the great Indian Muslim thinkers and freedom fighters, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, gave a speech at Ramgarh upon being elected president of the Indian National Congress. Among Islam's greatest contributions to India, he argued, was the gift of democratic ideas.

A famous thesis talks of the end of history. When attempting to understand the state of the Muslim world today, let me propose an alternate thought: the beginning of history. This history begins in 1918, for that was the year in which, for all practical purposes, every Muslim in the world was colonized. Iran might claim that it was independent, but only nominally so: Britain and Russia had divided the country into 'zones of influence' as far back as in 1906. The defeat of the Ottoman Empire in 1918 (after the collapse of the Mughal Empire 60 years before) was the last nail in the long-festering coffin of Muslim independence. Nationalist Arabs expected what had been promised during the war. Instead, the policies of the West, then led by Britain and France, hinged on the politics of oil. For the people, the control of oil became the most important definition of independence.

Democracy is essential, but it is impossible without sovereignty. A free vote under the watchful eye of American soldiers will always be suspect, irrespective of how sincere it is: no one needs a fifth wheel on the democracy coach. This is not the first time that occupation has been sold as a form of liberation: this was the rationale used by the British in Egypt in 1882. I might add that no one wants to conquer a poor nation. Robert Clive called Murshidabad, a provincial capital of India, as rich as London, when he entered the city as a victor in

1757. In 1790 (about 85 years after the death of the last great Mughal, Aurangzeb, and therefore nearly a century of instability) India produced more than 23 per cent of the world's manufacturing output and Britain less than two per cent. In 1947, the year India became free, Britain had more than 23 per cent of the world's manufacturing output and India less than two per cent. An ideologue could not have hoped for neater figures.

But answers do not lie in anger. They lie in introspection.

The strategic vision of the OIC must address the basic problems of the Muslims, problems that Muslims have created for themselves. The OIC must offer an agenda for action to reverse this decline.

A deep political, economic and social apathy afflicts too much of the Muslim world. There is no common formula for this: each Muslim country must find answers that emerge from its own stage of development. We must have the honesty to acknowledge that all Muslims do not live in the twenty-first century. Many still live in the nineteenth century, through no fault of their own, for they have been betrayed by their leaderships. But there is at least one idea that can be considered relevant across boundaries: the need to invest in knowledge.

We are sitting in the shadow of the *Kaabah Sharif*: I suggest to you that there are two Islamic conferences going on, one inside the room and the other in the Holy Mosque. We are the establishment. The other is the conference among the people. The distance between the two has grown too large. Look at the faces of Muslims and you will see on many of them poverty. The OIC has little right to exist unless the elimination of poverty among Muslims becomes a vital priority of the next ten years. Hunger is the worst form of oppression. We need an immediate anti-poverty programme. This does not mean just handing out aid: aid is just band-aid when the disease is a cancer. We need programmes that create an economy in the poorest Muslim nations, free of waste and corruption.

Muslim nations are in decline not because they have a shortage of guns, but because they have lost the knowledge edge. Power does not flow from the barrel of a gun; it flows from the fountainhead of knowledge. In 1232 the Sultan of Egypt presented Frederick, leader of the Bloodless Crusade, with an astronomical clock that opened the doors of technology to Europe. By the eighteenth century Egypt could not compete with the cuckoo clock. That decline has to be reversed. We

need a Knowledge Fund that can create half a dozen universities and many times that number of schools that rank among the best in the world, pay the best salaries to teachers and create an environment nurtured by academic freedom. There is enough money; we need the will. The OIC must take a strong stand against the self-destructive sectarianism that divides Muslim societies. We often behave as if the interpreters of the law are more important than the faith. The Prophet gave us one Islam. Muslims have divided it into many sects.

We need social reform — to ensure the full participation of women in education and development that was among the glorious achievements of the first phase of Muslim history. If you tell a non-Muslim today that the Prophet's wife ran a successful business, you will invite an incredulous sneer.

We need political reform. Every Muslim nation must have an inclusive polity in which traditional systems leave sufficient space for contemporary demands. Democracy may be a new idea, but it is the best one we have. The test of a democracy is the vulnerability of a government. Europe has shown that democracy can co-exist with a traditional system like monarchy. We are vulnerable because, in a classic symptom of despair, the Muslim voice is being taken over by deviants. Why? Muslim governments must look into their hearts and ask whether they are doing enough to end internal and external injustice. Why do Muslims fantasize about Saladin? Precisely because they want a leader who will stand up for their legitimate demands. Saladin was no extremist; he was in fact almost assassinated by deviants of his time.

The OIC has a claim to be the legitimate voice of Muslims. If so, it must challenge double standards. An Iranian has the right to ask why his nuclear programme is being threatened while Israel is permitted to become a nuclear military power. Why should there be two laws? Israel no longer has to fear for its existence. King Abdullah's breakthrough peace proposals recognize the right of Israel to exist, and correctly so. Does Britain, which actively helped Israel to become a nuclear military power, accept that there are conditions in which a nation might be justified in becoming a secret nuclear power?

Too many Muslim nations believe in a bank account rather than an economy. Many nations have wealth; how many have used it for laboratories that employ scientists to do basic research on biotechnology? Instead of creating industries to produce goods that can

be better than the best, we have created a mall economy in which shops are full of imports. I am not an isolationist; but I would like 'Made in Saudi Arabia' to compete with 'Made in USA'.

We are vulnerable because our intellectual elites have lost the plot, and our political-financial elites have lost the courage to dream of a future for their people.

The Makkah conference, convened at the behest of the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques, King Abdullah Bin Abdul Aziz, to formulate a new vision for the many nations in which the *ummah* lives, must begin the long and difficult journey towards a new dream.

International Relations and Security Consideration: Conflict Resolution

India's Security Concerns:
Emerging Challenges at Sea

P S Das

India's interests at sea flow from the totality of its security environment. These maritime concerns are, therefore, to be viewed holistically, in conjunction with the entire gamut of the nation's interests. Further, unlike land frontiers, which are more defined and quantifiable and have to be 'protected' or defended, maritime interests have a larger connotation, requiring them to be safeguarded and enhanced. This important difference between sanctity of territorial integrity, and consolidation of maritime interests, needs to be recognized, especially by nations whose fortunes are closely tied to the seas. At another level, in the emerging environment, traditional threats from nation-states are decreasing while those from non-state actors, or terrorism, are increasing. This change needs to be recognized and factored into the nation's security calculus.

The emerging global security environment is focused on the Asia-Pacific generally, and on Asia, in particular. Two of the three largest economies of the world in the next 15 years will be Asian. The immediate concerns of the USA, e.g., rogue or failed states, radical Islamic terrorism, oil and its supply routes and proliferation of WMD, are Asia-centric. In the longer term, the only country which can emerge as a rival to US global interests, China, is an Asian entity, as also three of the four largest economies in the world in 2025, China, Japan and India. It is, therefore, not surprising that we have American military presence stretching from Turkey in the west to Japan in the east in addition to formidable capabilities which can be brought to bear from the sea. It is unlikely that this will change in the foreseeable future.

The Indian Ocean is one of the major theatres of the Asia-Pacific. The strategic imperatives of America — to have a dominating presence

in Asia, to exert influence over its energy assets, to ensure safe movement of commerce and to counter radical Islamic terrorism — are inextricably linked to this vast stretch of water. The countries of concern are littorals of this space, the major terrorist movements originate from here and safe movement of energy requires the sea-lanes to be made secure. It is in this overall context that India has to look at the maritime dimensions of its security.

Nearly half of the entire seaborne commerce of the world moves across the waters of the Indian Ocean; even more important, as much as 20 per cent of it, $ 200 billion annually, is in the form of oil and gas, of which more than half is shipped eastwards through the sea lanes of Southeast Asia. For example, 70 per cent of Japan's needs of oil are met from the Gulf, and South Korea is equally dependent on imports from this region. The USA imports 20 per cent of its energy needs from here, France 50 per cent and even China has become a major importer of Gulf oil, overtaking Japan. Thus, the entire Asia Pacific is critically dependent on the energy resources of the region and on the safety of their movement. As much as 65 per cent of the world's discovered oil reserves and 35 per cent of its gas are located in this region, which accounts for 40 per cent of global oil production annually. These are very important and critical assets. There are also resources below the sea that are still to be discovered. These existing and potential resources lend great strategic significance to the Indian Ocean region.

At the same time, the region, its northern part in particular, suffers from serious vulnerabilities. The sea lanes entering and exiting from these waters pass through several narrow passages, e.g., the Strait of Hormuz, the Gulf of Aden, Suez Canal, the Strait of Malacca, etc., creating 'choke points', literally, making it possible for rogue states and non-state actors to interdict or disrupt shipping, thus, jeopardizing the safety of cargoes moving across the important east-west trade routes. Last year, more than half of all piracy at sea, worldwide, took place in the Malacca Strait and surrounding waters. With some 60,000 ships transiting the Strait annually, effects of consequent disruption in the trade chain on the economic growth of most major economies are not difficult to visualize. Furthermore, most littorals have been nation-states for less than 50 years, and religious, ethnic and societal discords plague many of them. The fact that several are ruled by authoritarian regimes and are dependent on 'single product' economies, especially in the Gulf region, adds to their domestic and political fragility.

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As many as 3.5 million Indian citizens work in the Gulf countries, contributing over $10 billion to the Indian economy annually. Our interests require that their work environment remains stable. All Gulf littorals are Islamic countries with which India's own very large Muslim population has many interfaces. These include, in a positive sense, religious interaction as in the 'Haj' pilgrimage, but also activities inimical to its security from the several radical Islamic terrorist movements stretching across the North Indian Ocean region. Another vital concern is India's own dependence on oil imports from the Gulf. Over 70 per cent of India's annual consumption is imported and the figure is likely to go up from 100 million tons last year to 300 million tons by 2020. Any stoppage or interdiction of this oil will have a crippling impact on the country's economic growth. It is equally important that our offshore oil assets, spread over an area of over 48,000 sq km and likely to double in the next two decades, are protected from attacks or encroachment by hostile elements. The same holds true for the nearly 4,000 odd tankers that come to our ports every year. Their number is likely to grow to over 8,000 by 2020. Almost 95 per cent of India's overseas trade moves through the medium of the sea, reaching $ 250 billion this year and likely to cross $1.2 trillion by 2020. Of this, about U$ 600 million would be moving through the waters of the Southeast Asia region. Safety of these sea lanes, the coastal offshore areas, and of our ports through which this trade moves is, therefore, critical to its interests. In earlier times, the emphasis was on securing important assets against conventional military threats but the greater danger now posed is by non-state actors.

India shares maritime boundaries, not just with three of its South Asian neighbours, but with three countries of the ASEAN, viz., Myanmar, Thailand and Indonesia. Malaysia is also not far away. While boundaries have been delineated with most of them, there are, inevitably, irritants of poaching, smuggling and illegal movement of arms. Another serious concern is the smuggling of narcotics, which is closely linked to the arms trade and, therefore, to terrorism. India is located in the middle of two major narcotics centres of the world, centre on Myanmar in the east and Afghanistan in the west. We hear a lot about seizures made at airports and on land but one seldom gets to hear of transportation by sea, which is infinitely easier and permits large quantities to be shipped. Two years ago, a Japanese vessel, masquerading under a false name and flag, was routinely investigated

at an Indian port and found to have been engaged in the smuggling of narcotics and arms. There must be many other vessel carriers which have not been caught.

Finally, India's interface with the Asia-Pacific region is crucial to its economic growth and national interests. Bilateral trade with China and the ASEAN crossed $16 billion each last year and is slated to grow to $40 billion, possibly more, in the next five years. Trade with Japan and South Korea, even if not of the same magnitude, is also poised for growth. Stability in the countries with which we trade and their own prosperity is, therefore, in India's interest. Linked to the security concerns highlighted earlier, this makes an India-Asia-Pacific relationship an important adjunct of the overall equation. The medium which acts as the binder, as well as the facilitator, is the sea.

Many people tend to mistake piracy at sea for maritime terrorism. The former has existed for as long as men have sailed the seas and largely covers robbery, petty or big, sometimes with the connivance of the crew. In recent months, incidents have seen greater violence being used by the raiders and crews have also been taken hostages for quite heavy ransom. These developments are disturbing but will not, unlike terrorism, affect the security of nation-states or cause widespread trauma in populations. But piracy, which leads to hijacking of ships, falls under a different and much more serious category. It is organized crime which is also transnational. Ships belong to one country, are registered in another, crewed by people from several others and carry cargoes bound for destinations around the world. Once hijacked, they can be used for nefarious purposes anywhere. So, the security of restricted waters, where such crimes can be more easily perpetrated, is important, not just for those littoral to it but also for those well beyond. So far, we have seen terrorist attacks on the *USS Cole* at Aden, on a French oil tanker off Yemen, and on offshore oil terminals and tankers at Basra, and on super ferries in the Phillipines. The ultimate terrorism, on par with the 9/11 attacks, can be the sinking of ships in busy channels or at the entrances of major ports to bring their activities to a standstill for many months. Several Indian ports can be blocked in this manner and their activities halted for several weeks at great cost to the nation's economy. Ships are easier to hijack and will cause damage beyond that inflicted on 9/11. Countries cannot cope with maritime terrorism by themselves. It will also not help to react when the damage has already been done. Preventive capabilities are essential. There is need for

information sharing, for effective and stringent laws, for suitable organizations and capabilities and for coordination and co-operation at the regional level with countries around us, external to the region and littoral to it. As one of the region's major maritime powers, India has to play a proactive role in such co-operative interfaces.

The USA, as has been mentioned earlier, is a major player in the North Indian Ocean. Not only does it have vital strategic concerns in this region, it is the largest importer of Gulf oil and its seaborne trade through the Malacca Strait exceeds $500 billion. It also deploys considerable maritime power to support and safeguard these interests. India shares many of these interests, in particular, those pertaining to the fight against terrorism, proliferation of WMD and the safety of seaborne commerce. The Indian Navy has been carrying out joint exercises with the US Navy for about a decade and their scope has been increasing. It is very unlikely that these interfaces will diminish, as there is convergence of interests between the two countries at the strategic level. This can be seen in the ten-year New Framework of India-USA Defence Relationship signed by the two countries on 29 June 2005, which includes participation in multinational operations by mutual agreement and coordinated patrols at sea. This positive relationship also extends to India's maritime interfaces with countries such as the UK, France, Russia, South Africa, Australia, etc. The level of maritime interaction between India and Japan is increasing, commensurate with the shared interests of both countries in the Asia-Pacific region.

As far as littoral countries are concerned, India has important economic, political and security interests, and naval interactions with these countries through ship visits, exchange of personnel and joint exercises, enhance them. The Gulf region is not only critical for its oil and gas but also for other inputs to our economy, while the Malacca and Singapore Straits are among the world's most important shipping routes. As highlighted earlier, half of India's overseas trade passes through them and its quantum, in monetary terms, will exceed $500 billion in 2025. The gathering of ships hosted by the Navy in January 2006, under the name MILAN, attracted participation from nine regional navies. Such co-operative programmes, which build trust and confidence, must be encouraged. Ships of the Indian Navy have assisted Sri Lanka in times of natural disaster and other difficult times. In Maldives, it was only the timely intervention of our naval and airborne forces that saved the legitimate government from being

overthrown. Most recently, both countries have seen immediate and credible response from Indian Navy and Coast Guard ships during the Tsunami disaster even as India, itself, suffered great loss of life and devastation. Indian naval ships have carried out patrols of the Exclusive Economic Zone of Mauritius at that country's request and ensured offshore and coastal security for the African summit conference in Mozambique last year. Just recently, a dedicated organization for International Maritime Co-operation has been constituted at Naval Headquarters, which is a measure of the seriousness that the Indian Navy attaches to this issue.

Relations with Pakistan are presently quite tranquil, but it is unlikely that things will change radically in the foreseeable future, given that Pakistan's military can only retain its elitist position in society if India is portrayed as hostile. Therefore, the Indian Navy has to be prepared to cope with any eventualities and needs maritime power which is sufficiently dissuasive. However, likelihood of military conflict is not high. Apart from the fact that the nuclear environment imposes its own constraints, the dynamics of the international environment, also India's deterrent capabilities, cannot be wished away. However, terrorism in Kashmir and, indeed, elsewhere in India, supported from Pakistan, is likely to continue, and its threshold will depend on India's capabilities to cope with it, as well as the pressures that it can bring to bear internationally on Pakistan. The country is well known as the training hub for terrorists around the world, as also highlighted in the third report of the 9/11 Public Discourse Project (PDP) published in November 2005. Perpetrators of the London explosions, those arrested in Australia a few months ago or those responsible for various acts of terrorism in Afghanistan and, of course, in India, have all emerged from institutions in Pakistan. A senior Minister of the present government is well known to have operated one of the largest of such camps. Pakistan is developing the port of Gwadar on the mouth of the Strait of Hormuz through Chinese assistance and its President is on record that the PLA Navy would be allowed to use the port facilities whenever Pakistan 'felt threatened'. This pronouncement has overtones and needs to be factored into our security calculations, given that India's oil lifeline can easily be threatened by hostile elements, both state and non-state, operating out of Gwadar.

As far as China is concerned, India's relations with that country have fluctuated, but in the emerging world order, things have begun to

change. India is aware that China is going to be one of the two largest economies in the world by 2020, just as China realizes that India, with its existing GDP of about $700 billion, growing at about eight per cent per annum, is itself poised to become a major economic power in the same time frame. Strategically, both China and India are very important ingredients of the Asian chessboard. As stated earlier, bilateral trade between the two countries has jumped from a few hundred million dollars a decade ago, to nearly $18 billion last year, and is likely to cross $40 billion by 2010, possibly making China our largest trading partner-nation. For the first time, Indian and PLA Navy ships have exercised together at sea and there have also been exchanges, of high level military visits. This type of engagement is likely to continue. At the same time, there are long festering boundary issues still to be resolved.

In addition to the Gwadar project mentioned earlier, China is also assisting Myanmar in developing its port facilities. Its ambitions to become a credible sea power are well articulated, and the PLA Navy's modernization, under which submarines and destroyers have been and, are being, acquired from Russia, as also its own indigenous shipbuilding warship building plans, have already made it possible for it to deploy at long distances. Availability of port facilities in Myanmar and Pakistan will give it a North Indian Ocean capability that it does not presently have. In short, while India does not view China as a threat, the implications of its maritime postures will have to be watched carefully.

As we move into the twenty-first century, some major changes are taking place in India's security environment. Concerns over the sanctity and protection of our land borders are diminishing. The larger threat on land is not from any nation-state but internal, from indigenous terrorist movements like the Naxalites, or sponsored from across our borders. That notwithstanding, typical geopolitical threats have not disappeared even if they have altered, and capabilities must exist to cope with them. On the other hand, a much more diffused, invisible, irrational and fanatic threat is developing, with the potential to harm our long-term interests. This threat does not differentiate between peace and war. So far, this threat has remained focused on land. However, there is great likelihood of its entering the maritime domain where much greater long-term damage can be inflicted on the country. Increasingly, in the future, India's security concerns will shift seawards and the Navy has, therefore, to assume more proactive functions in peace. India also has a Coast Guard of a reasonable size and these two

maritime forces have to coordinate their responsibilities. To move from the 'comfort zone' of preparing for conventional war against identified adversaries, on one's own, to the 'uncertainties' of looking for and countering unknown actors, in co-operation with others, is a challenge which has to be faced and overcome.

Looked at superficially, it might appear that the two principal maritime tasks — to cope with traditional geopolitical threats as also to counter non-traditional threats — are in contradiction. In fact, there is a synergy between the two. Both need credible capabilities, in the first instance to deter and, in the second to pre-empt or to prevent the threat from materializing. As has been highlighted, India's concerns stretch across the North Indian Ocean, from the coast of the Gulf countries to that of Southeast Asia. Its maritime forces must be able get to the areas of concern, to remain there for reasonable periods and to operate there credibly. For this, a broad spectrum of capabilities is needed including access to timely and appropriate intelligence, nearly real-time surveillance and reconnaissance inputs, efficient and secure communications, logistics and, above all, integral air support, without which maritime operations cannot be entirely credible. In the emerging security environment, the North Indian Ocean region has acquired new dimensions which cannot be ignored. Non-traditional threats are becoming increasingly potent, and the sea lanes of communication critical to India's energy security and economic growth are becoming vulnerable to disruption. All together, the environment requires focused capabilities at sea that can safeguard our interests through a strategy which encompasses engagement, co-operation, reassurance and deterrence.

The Future in South Asia

Beware of the Hypnosis of History

Jagat S Mehta

The overriding reality of the twenty-first century is how strikingly different it is from the strongly held perceptions — political, strategical, economic as well as technological — as seen at the beginning of the twentieth century. The dichotomy is compounded by settled mindsets who clutch to old irrationalities and are baffled by new realities. In hindsight, the World War I should not have been precipitated (which fortunately accelerated the end of the British Empire); Hiroshima was the gravest moral mistake of history and the political and military anticipation proved wholly erroneous; the Cold War with fears of ideological internationalism was totally misconceived. The penalties inflicted by misjudgements have never been fully elaborated. It confirms what Regis Debray wrote in the *Revolution within the Revolution*, 'History advances in disguises; we are never contemporaneous with the present.'

It is obviously pointless to quarrel with the past, but problems have got needlessly aggravated because conveniently remembered history complicates objectivity and fuddles the lessons, which could have been better absorbed. Policies continue to be based on the impressions left by the past — figuratively preparing to fight the last war. While each case has its own background, in my view, the explanation across the board, in developed and developing countries, is that, in the twentieth century the gallop of technology was so fast and the comprehension of the decision-makers was, at best, on a slow trot and this led to the widening gap between technology and its political fallout. Localized problems led not only to violent terrorism but no one seriously foresaw the way it would get internationally linked.

Let me illustrate the point with some random examples:

a)   Nuclear weapons were, no doubt, a breakthrough, but the utility of such an unprecedented accretion of destructive power gave US

the illusions of semi-permanent capacity to dominate world politics. This reflected the mindsets traceable to the nineteenth century Clausewitzian aphorism, 'War (in other words destructive firepower) is politics by other means.' While nuclear weapon capacity gave confidence to the possessor, it never frightened the adversary and anyway the monopoly did not last long. In Vietnam and Chechenya, the nuclear weapon powers could not enforce victory even against lightly armed but defiant opponents. The innovation, it is strategically assumed, serves the nuclear weapon power as a deterrent against the hypothetical malevolence of others, but no one dare take the initiative for positive goals. However, the old momentum of military-industrial-scientific complexes continues in exotic redundant vertical sophistication, developing a vested interest in presuming that the other side might abdicate sagacity and choose self-destruction. It took 40 years of mutually reinforced paranoia before Presidents Reagan and Gorbachev publicly recognized that nuclear wars cannot be won; therefore, they should never be started. Meanwhile, the opportunity cost is that all nuclear powers have been emaciated and USSR actually disintegrated. Trillions might have gone to the developing world and strengthened international distributional equity and stability. Peace that now prevails, hangs by a fragile shoestring of possible misreading of the radar screen; unsmothered terrorism from the spread of political awareness is becoming the greater menace than nuclear proliferation.

Every country has its own calculus of national interests generally based on worst-case scenario perceptions. It is insufficiently realized that the attempt to perpetuate nuclear apartheid under the Non-proliferation Treaty (1968) and prevent horizontal proliferation was doomed from the very beginning. It has been overlooked that international relations change; friends can turn 'enemies'. It is scarcely recalled that the first nuclear reactors were sold to Iran by USA when the Shah was in power and was perceived as the regional gendarme; now Iran is a 'rogue' state posing a threat to Israel and even USA. For many years, Pakistan was certified as 'peaceful' under the Glenn Amendment, but now A Q Khan is recognized as the arch-proliferator. North Korea highlights the problem of banning WMDs in the age of intellectual globalization and of separating 'responsible' nations

from those considered dangerous to international peace. It also illustrates that technological advancement and scientific progress cannot be controlled. Suicidally inclined terrorists mock the notion that war-making weapons can still be useful as 'politics by other means'.

b) The twentieth century saw the rise and collapse of ideological universalism, but enforcing economic and social dogma on a lasting basis has proved a disastrous illusion; even the Sino-Soviet rift developed within a decade. In Eastern Europe, one cannot help feeling Stalin would have ensured greater security for Mother Russia if, instead of imposing unwelcome Communist regimes, he had allowed them to be democratic and Finlandized. Whereas in the earlier centuries *droit de limitrophe* could ride roughshod over small countries like Belgium, the Central Asia, and the Balkans, the electronic media and the Information Revolution have immeasurably strengthened the nationalism of the weak countries.

c) The Mitrokhin diaries provide another recent example of the errors of perception during the Cold War. Mitrokhin, a KGB operative, was able to smuggle out a truckload of KGB archives. They show how under the prevailing Cold War paranoia, the KGB secretly planned to exercise control over the politics of even India. It alleges that millions of rupees were passed on to the Communist and Congress parties and to pliable journalists and diplomats, and apparently even delivered to the Prime Minister's house. This may have been directed to promote the suspicions against America, compromising the independence of Non-alignment. The truckload of material is so vast that it is almost inconceivable that they could be plagiarized or substituted and so it must be deemed authentic. In similar post-hoc revelations, according to the late Senator Moynihan, at one stage the CIA too had disbursed money to the Congress party for elections in Kerala. No doubt BJP must have tapped and obtained illegal contributions from abroad, at least from the NRIs. The real point is that such nefarious activities made little difference to what finally transpired.

d) Five years ago conventional wisdom believed that orthodox Islam could be safely depended upon to be permanently sympathetic to the democratic West. No one foresaw that the

advance of technology would lead to both 'hate America' and to 'Islamaphobia'. The new international problem is that one billion strong Caucasian Christianity is psychologically alienated and suspicious of 1.2 billion Muslims — a kind of civilizational conflict akin to the medieval crusades

A recent book by an old friend and colleague, Narendra Singh Sarila, entitled *The Untold Story of Partition* with the subtitle *The shadow of the great game* is also a good illustration of the fallacies of selective history being clutched and allegedly providing insights into twentieth century politics. By meticulous research into hitherto confidential archives, he has shown that Whitehall had long ago planned that parts of the subcontinent where Muslims were in a majority, should be detached to face the likely threat of Communism, as the USSR was bound to pursue Peter the Great's dream of a warm water port, especially as it provided access to 'wells of power' — in other words, strategically crucial oil reserves. Pakistan was created as Hindu India could not be relied upon to be a military friend to the West. The authenticity of the historical analysis cannot be questioned, but in 2005, when the book was published, it looked embarrassingly reverse of what is the present reality. Non-aligned India is now a more sober and objective friend and is at least recovering from the old gut anti-Americanism.

e) The attitude to international migration has oscillated between the rationality of economics and the irrationality of political racialism; it has features of the conflict between 'demand' and 'supply' factors. With the end of European empires and the easing of travel, migrations cannot be timed and 'controlled' to specified locations, as in the old indentured system. The developed country economies welcomed the induction of outside 'labour' and even IT specialists when needed, but when political debate is sharp — as during the elections — the invasion by foreigners is used to raise domestic hackles and racial tensions surface in the 'ghettoes' of immigrant minorities. The vision of a melting pot in America is under strain and a salad bowl in Europe has not yet stabilized. There is fusion brought about by economic and technological globalization, which in the end will overwhelm political nationalism. Migration may be slowed down, but to stop it would be self-damaging. Unless handled

with sagacity, exasperated racialism can translate into terrorism, as has happened recently in France.

Afghanistan (1978-2001) is another example of the grave consequences flowing from the drag of out-of-date mindsets. Both the USA and India made flawed analysis of the Soviet intervention in 1979. The Soviets had, in fact, intervened to defang a militant Communist who, in his ideological zest, had precipitated insurgencies in the conservative tribal society. The Soviets had obviously not imbibed any lesson from the US failure in Vietnam, but American misjudgements were more serious. With old conditioned reflexes, the intervention was assumed to be a strategic thrust by the Cold War 'enemy' to cut-off the oil artery from the Gulf to the West. The White House declared the Soviet action was 'the gravest threat to world peace since World War-II'. Ten years of conflict — a kind of proxy Cold War — followed before it was realized that there was no such intention and that both super powers had perpetrated a blunder of misjudgements. After UN's face-saving mediation, both withdrew their forces or support but left behind factionalized anarchy in the country. In the reaction to 9/11, in chasing the colleagues of perpetrators and eliminating their hideouts, the USA returned to Afghanistan, but even after four years and billions in development aid and support by a NATO contingent, there is slow progress in restoring the country to status quo ante. It is also conveniently overlooked that in rearming Pakistan and helping the Mujahideen to fight the 'Evil Empire', USA had actually helped to install Osama bin Laden, ground the Al Queda, stimulate the Taliban and create the Frankenstein of terror. There is, at best, a perfunctory acknowledgement that it was the US, which fuelled and catalyzed the rise of fundamentalist militancy.

India too, instead of following Non-aligned principles, took the false alarm of the USA too seriously. Today Pakistan, India and USA are all tortuously reaping the dragon seeds of their own misinterpretations which, as a by-product, complicated India's problems in Kashmir. The disaffection in the Valley, the rigged elections in 1987, the insurgency which followed in 1989, and the Kargil intervention (1999) might have been averted if, in 1989 India had not got hypnotized by the Cold War perceptions of the

USA. The India-Pakistan reconciliation which began in 2004 might have got underway in 1980, when for the first and only time the Soviet threat to Pakistan from and through Afghanistan looked more ominous than that from India. The misjudgment of the Carter White House had provided a golden opportunity for Indian diplomacy which, alas, was missed. Objective professionals had contemporaneously seen that there never was a threat of severing the flow of oil to the West or of a strategic conflict, but the old mindsets were entrenched and teleologically triggered 20 years of irrationality and blood-letting in the Valley.

f) My final example of the dichotomy between galloping technology and the wholly unexpected political fallout is of the US intervention in Iraq in 2003. Technology correctly gave confidence of a quick military success, but contrary to the confident hopes, the 'liberating forces', instead of getting a welcome at the fall of Saddaam Hussein, met with unrelenting suicidal hostility. It should be noted that not just the Bush Administration, but not even the think-tanks in America foresaw that American power will be quarantined behind a restricted 'Green line' in the city of Baghdad. A wide consensus even within the USA and a near universal judgement abroad is that US intervention looks 'neo-imperialist' in a post-imperial world. The intervention might have been a cover for ensuring supply of energy, but it was sought to be justified by the false intelligence of the presence of secret WMDs. It has been a monumental mistake, far worse than Vietnam. The US now faces not a controlled retreat but a humiliating defeat. The American and British Governments explain the incidents as terrorist outrages but most people in the Islamic world consider them as a triumph of nationalism. The fallout may be the decline and semi-permanent dethroning of the US, which hitherto has been the most envied and respected country in the world.

These are all examples of unforeseen twenty-first century problems, which require a completely new litmus of comprehension and solutions. Poor anticipation has been compounded by the hypnosis traceable to old mindsets.

Incidentally the only major initiative of the twentieth century, which did not fail but achieved its intended purpose, was the American

Marshall Plan, which resurrected Western Europe of World War-II. It was economic and developmental, urging regional coordination, but respecting national democratic institutions. Nehru's Non-alignment and ideological agnosticism was also prophetic, as it had the ingredients of respecting national independence with a developmental rather than an ideological thrust. The coincidental overlap of de-colonization with ideological bipolarity turned Non-alignment into a sophisticated form of blackmail, made worse by the belief that the consequential leverage and the Cold War would last for ever.

II

The question, which these examples raise, is why was there such a propensity of mis-anticipation in the face of the explosion of knowledge when diverse sources were available for information gathering, which could be independently corroborated or corrected. Why instead of history providing lessons, it became an oppression to sound judgement? If not academic analysts, political scientists, historians and the media, should not professional diplomacy have seen through the populist mindsets and looked ahead with greater perspicacity? The ethics of professional diplomacy have worried me throughout my career. Even for us, hot news and knee-jerk analysis provide the warp and woof for our reporting; market surveys and political polls in democracies cannot be ignored but diplomacy has a greater and a different responsibility. The mundane side of the profession is consular and VIP servicing, looking after our own nationals, promoting beneficial trade, economic co-operation and investment and projecting the many-sided image of the country. These are straightforward, but they pale before shrewder identification of international changes and the overriding priority of tension mitigation and conflict resolution. The word 'diplomacy' signifies a messenger for 'negotiations'. Home governments, which we serve, of course, are themselves influenced by the hot news and the prevailing climate and are seldom seriously asked for honest anticipation and encouraged to make long-term 'projections'. We adored and respected Jawaharlal Nehru but, alas, he did not himself ask unloaded questions and so senior civil servants infrequently volunteered disagreements. For

example, there were few officials, if any, who bothered to grasp the distinct features of old and new Chinese nationalism. It was safer to echo Panditji's thinking and this led to wishfulness prevailing. The national shortsightedness shocked and, perhaps fatally wounded, at least mentally, our beloved Prime Minister. Bzrezenski, because of his anti-Communist conditioning, had not a shadow of doubt that the USSR in Afghanistan was going for the jugular artery of oil. Many professional advisers are of the 'Yes minister brand' to either sabotage innovation in implementation or join in safe career husbanding and not live by the duty of volunteering dissent and be in tune with the future. Sometimes abdicating the responsibility is justified as flowing from constitutional democracy of not giving counsel to those carrying the people's mandate. If truth is acknowledged, professional diplomacy, which is dealing with other sovereign states and not domestic constituencies, has needlessly surrendered to political populism and acquiesced in echoing national chauvinism. The crunch of this thesis is that a senior civil servant with a guaranteed long tenure must be bold and honest at the advisory stage.

Diplomacy is habituated to justify 'lying' abroad in loyalty to their respective countries, but ultimately professionally we are paid to avert wars and this demands grasping in advance the misperceptions of the sovereign partner to facilitate negotiated compromises. Diplomacy demands a sort of dual loyalty; on the one hand to defending one's country, 'right or wrong', but on the other being boldly constructive in homeward dispatches and analysis. Professional diplomacy is wholly distinct from public relations but, alas, it so often assumes the temptation of craving for plaudits at home or meekly following the politician masters.

There were, of course, exceptions even at the political level. Nehru had expressed his alarm at nuclear weapons testing at the Non-aligned Conference in Belgrade (1961). In fact, his public concern about nuclear weapons was implicit in commissioning Dr D S Kothari to compile a book on Nuclear Explosions in 1954. Only nine months after the near-fatal Cuban missile crisis in 1963, for the first time in history — and that because of unprecedented gallop of technology — adversarial nuclear armed governments identified an overriding community of interests between the USA, the USSR and the UK, the then declared nuclear powers. Nehru was the first head of government to warn that

winds carrying radioactive clouds from nuclear testing could not only be lethal and uncontrollable, but that such tests could indiscriminately harm even the originator and, therefore, there was logic for the world to renounce testing by a universal treaty. It may be recalled that while the USA, the USSR and the UK promoted the self-imposed discipline, initially France and China stood aloof, but they too signed after doing their own tests. Because of the reservations of American scientists, the Treaty was 'partial', exempting underground tests. My own surmise is that if in 1963, a Comprehensive Test Ban had been proposed, the far-seeing statesman in Nehru would still have asked the Indian envoys in Washington, London and Moscow to be the first to sign the Treaty. No one else foresaw the inhibiting paralysis of nuclear power against people's protest. When the Berlin Wall was dismantled, it took the East and even the West by surprise; the USSR did not even use conventional countervailing action like tanks against unarmed protesters. Nehru's own hunch on disarmament was, in my view, the makings of a statesman.

At least before attaining power, not even Left scholars saw through the fallacies of ideological universalism. The US in its blinkered anti-Communist analysis, ignored the publicized evidence that the USSR, as distinct from China, was, in fact, wanting a negotiated end to the Vietnam war and trying to rescue the US from the continuance of the futile war. The USSR must have better understood the terrible consequences of a nuclear war. They must have been fearful lest the US use nuclear weapons in desperation, as that would have posed an impossible dilemma for the Soviet Union. As the protector of the Socialist Commonwealth, it would have had to choose between risking destruction of Russia and being seen as betraying its international obligations. The atrophy of the use of nuclear weapons is the most telling example of unforeseen paralysis from the technological gallop; 9/11 also made a mockery of established frontiers against fearless terrorism. In an enmeshed world, it should have been foreseen that in the twenty-first century local protests can turn into a globalizing phenomenon.

The more common meaning of globalization is associated not just with terrorism, but economic internationalism. Globalization, in fact, was implicit in the original concept of Non-alignment, which predicated that the newly independent countries would choose their

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own path to economic development and not be ideologically and militarily identified with a particular bloc. But before we could hammer our own strategies, we were lured and seduced into the vortex of bipolar competition and almost coerced into costly militarization. The pursuit of the developmental agenda of independence got weakened or sidelined. It is time we recognize that even after 50-60 years of independence and even using the constricted margin for their discretion, very few countries have actually made optimum exertions towards their own national development. Imitating the Cold War, we have succumbed to resorting to the habit of 'blame culture'.

Globalization is a reality; each country must grasp its application. It was stimulated by the gallop of modern technology, but the old Nature-dependant interdependence is an older reality. In 2005 we were grimly reminded of the linked fate by the tectonic movements which caused the tsunami around the Indian Ocean affecting several countries by a huge tidal wave. Meteorology tells us that likewise the perils of pollution and the destruction of the finite resources of the world can affect all countries. Globalization has made us better aware of global warming, ice-cap melting and environmental pollution. There is, however, a persistence of parochial selfishness. Scientifically recommended constructive measures have yet to be taken in hand soon and they must transcend the national selfishness and preoccupation of decision makers. The rationale for enlightened internationalism through diplomacy now assumes much greater complexity and urgency than at any time in history. The problem will get avoidably aggravated because of conditioned old mindsets. More than ever in the past, war has to be ruled out, not just nuclear, but even a conventional one, as it inflicts unprecedented destruction and, as in Afghanistan, may require decades for reconstruction. Requisite rationalization must start with geography-determined regionalism. It is in this context that we must now look at the subcontinent as a major tragedy of the century. Can we by diplomacy prevent more conflicts in the subcontinent? With technology having magnified expectations, the fate of a billion and a half people is at stake. Can we be fatalistically complacent? Here is the intersection of man-made folly and outraging God-given natural unity. How can regional cohesion, so impetuously severed by partition, be effectively repaired? Statesmanship at the apex level, but also professional diplomacy has a critical role to play in husbanding the future of South Asia, overcoming populist hesitation.

From 1947 up to 2003, both India and Pakistan saw each other, more or less, in the prism of permanent political hostility. Subjective memory got embedded with the emotional trauma of four conflicts; diplomacy and security considerations relentlessly manoeuvered for parochial national advantage, preparing for the next conflict or countering the other's alleged unfriendly intentions. Scholarship and analysis in India and Pakistan and, more so abroad, have generally been pessimistic of the resolution of problems between these nuclear-armed twins even in the distant future. Kashmir has been deemed the heart of the problem, but generally it is also assumed that the hostility went deeper. The best professionals even in India advised 'abundant caution' on the assumption that the other side's malevolence was beyond rationality and so diplomacy was predicated not on conflict resolution but on the downward spiraling of worst-case scenarios. Siachen is the best example of both sides getting locked into mutual paranoia without weighing opportunity costs of alternative priorities. Rs 500/- per chapatti for the Indian brigade was not questioned even by visiting ministers when realistically no possibility of military operations exists. The toll of severe frostbite and oedema has inflicted more casualties than the Kargil operations. Neither Pakistan nor India seriously contemplated re-establishing rational functional relations between themselves for decades.

In the trauma of partition and the holocaust which followed, we almost deliberately overlooked that geography, the common Himalayas, the monsoon winds and the logic of economics did not change with impetuous political decisions in the subcontinent. The Indus Treaty 1960 and Farakka were part of the commitment of permanently undercutting optimal development which, unlike Siachen, is now well-nigh impossible to fully correct.

Since they are conveniently forgotten, it would be appropriate at this stage to recall some recent moments of rationality and statesmanship and also note that every time there were signs of improvement, it was taken with mountains of salt and got readily discounted. Let me elaborate.

In my view, Mrs Gandhi not insisting on a legalized frontier at Shimla in 1972 was an example of statesmanship, as she made

allowances for Pakistan leader's domestic difficulties following defeat in Bangladesh. But Bhutto going back on his promise confidentially given was a betrayal. Though the Line of Control was not formalized, from 1976 to 1979 Zia-ul-Haque quietly respecting the Line was statesmanship. This is seldom recalled either in India or in Pakistan for different reasons. Despite his anti-Pakistan political past, A B Vajpayee's courageous visit to Islamabad in 1978 and the bus journey to Lahore in 1999 were proofs of statesmanship, but Musharaff launching Kargil (1999) was in keeping with traditional hostility. In 2000, in Agra he also showed lack of understanding of the Indian sensitivity on Kashmir and so ruled out the possibility of an interim compromise formulation. After the 2001 terrorist attack on our Parliament, many in the country, including professionals, had rejoiced at the Indian Army moving to forward positions. It was in the spirit of unthinking retaliation to suggest abrogating the Indus Treaty with little realization that it would have closed doors for ever. Even professionals overlooked that India was a lower riparian to China and to Nepal. Fortunately, at the last minute, the scrapping of the treaty was not approved. The episodic instances of malevolence had myopic logic, but the SAARC agreement in January 2004 between Vajpayee and Musharaff condemning all terror and again in September 2004 with Manmohan Singh and the visit to Delhi in April 2005 and approving various functional improvements showed path-breaking statesmanship in both governments. For the first time, they look consistent with a distant vision.

The sea change in the climate of India-Pakistan relations from January 2004 could also suffer resistance and hesitations, but I have deemed it fundamentally irreversible, as, after experiencing the consequence of artificial separation, it shows return to the logic of political and geographical contiguity. This time the catalyst of the positive transformation reflects the era change and wholly novel development in the twenty-first century of people's political power and the penalty from the deficit in vision consistency. Musharaff's broadcast in 2002 was to please the US Administration after 9/11 and so he jettisoned his own progeny, the Taliban, but defended the 'Freedom Fighters' in Kashmir. The US intervention in Iraq precipitated 'hate America' feeling in the *umma* all over the Muslim world and India was no longer the country most disliked in Pakistan. The change towards the USA will not evaporate even if Uncle Sam remains the principal benefactor of the government and establishment in Pakistan. The

people in Pakistan now feel that the USA can only be trusted when supporting American purposes. They look back over 50 years and discern that American attitudes have always been ulterior. Pakistan was accepted as an ally when the US perceived a threat from the Eurasian landmass and Communism, but with the end of the Cold War, Pakistan was no longer perceived as a lynchpin of their strategy. In Afghanistan the US first rejoiced in the utility of Pakistan but made a 180-degree turn in 1989 and abandoned the country when the USSR withdrew. The US attitude towards Taliban was tolerant in the nineties, but changed to hostility after 9/11. On the other hand, relations with India, good or bad, remain permanent; statesmanship in India on a bipartisan basis has by now indicated respect for the integrity and sovereignty of Pakistan. This is what has brought about the return of rationality in India-Pakistan relations.

Meanwhile, forgetting the trauma of partition in 2004-05, India is the only major country which has not got contaminated by the irrationalities of 'Islamaphobia' (or 'extreme anti-Americanism'). It is maturing to the return of secularism and non-ideological co-operation with the neighbouring countries. Our civilizational asset of a salad bowl of plurality of religions has resurfaced. Many in BJP quietly recognize the folly of demolishing the Babri Masjid and regret the terrible massacres in Gujarat in 2002. With the advent of the millennium change, not just John Foster Dulles but the erstwhile giants like Churchill, Stalin and Mao are all seen as not having had good foresights and, in comparison, Nehru looks more prophetic than these peers. Ideological agnosticism, national discretion in development, international and ecological interdependence were more implicit in his approach than that of any of the erstwhile world's icons. It is now more widely recognized that the subcontinent suffered by acquiescing in the western fallacies as well as the Stalinistic and Chinese Communistic models. Many more now also recognize that partition was not the lesser evil, but it would be a compounding folly to unscramble it. Instead, there is wide enthusiasm to explore and harness functional co-operation with the independent countries of the subcontinent. This vision has never been as clearly enunciated at the official level as Prime Minister Manmohan Singh on 9 November 2005 in Chandigarh at the CRRID conference, stating bluntly that the fight against poverty and terrorism is indivisible and success hinged on united regional effort.

In the face of the technological gallop, the only certainty is that it will keep on galloping and reshaping the politics and economics of our times. The process will lead to more interdependence and freer economic and financial flows. The danger is still that India may be swayed and get deflected even by stray insurgency incidents and give way to the old myopia. National level politics may be tempted to ignore the inevitability of globalization. We may forget the many benefits like outsourcing by MNCs, came because we had ended self-destructive import substitution in the mirage of attaining absolute self-reliance. Both India and China have gained immensely by comparative liberalization of debilitating controls. The size of India and China, their population structure, which guarantees a steady inflow of youth in the workforce, the thirst for learning and advancement, the people's capacity for hard work, have resulted in spectacular growth in both countries. In comparison with the break-neck pace of China, India may be a tortoise, but it has the advantage of having institutionalized democracy. China still depends on restricting political participation of the people and, perhaps it has not fully grasped the political democratization of technological globalization. Our system, on the other hand, implicitly recognizes that ignoring political awareness of the people will spell disaster in the twenty-first century. Our open, but flawed and inefficient system may well harmonize better with the gallop of Information Technology.

Developments in India-Pakistan relations in the last two years have already exposed as fallacious the hold of the local and foreign pessimists. The constructive improvement has surprised many decision makers and South Asia experts. Let me take the risk of spelling out the surprises.

1) Pakistan's people's attitude towards the visiting Indian cricket team confounded the Indian team and the 60,000 viewers, who went on short-term visas, by their spontaneous full-throated welcome. The hypnosis of the past was revealed in the bureaucratic reluctance to authorize the resumption of the series, but statesmanship proved more prophetically accurate. I was told that after the Lahore Test — which India won — 1000 motorcycle riders with silencers removed, noisily roared around the streets of the city hailing the Indian victory! In comparison,

the enthusiasm in India was mild except in Chandigarh, but the sea-change is that no government in India or Pakistan can now contemplate cancelling the cricket series or shut out sporting and cultural contacts across the border.

2) There is unforeseen enthusiasm at the freer people-to-people freedom of mingling again. Economic rationality is now on the ascendant; complementariness is being identified or re-identified. The exchanges between commercial and technical rotaries are shedding the earlier hesitations and prejudices. The Wagah crossing has come to be accepted as normal for rail travel and buses; the widespread fears of the bureaucracy and security forces at the opening of the road between Srinagar and Muzaffarabad proved false. Intelligence organizations in all countries are professionally wedded to worst-case scenarios. This is true of CIA, KGB, RAW and more so of ISI, but the people are overcoming habitual professional caution.

3) While the rigidity of the old mindsets continues, terror incidents have, in fact, reduced. The fact that a million tourists went to holiday in Indian Kashmir showed that people are now taking normalization for granted and are undeterred by sporadic violence. After the Paharganj and Sarojini Nagar serial synchronized bomb blasts on 29 October 2005, normal Deewali crowds gathered within 24 hours. There is no indisputable proof whether these incidents were 'autonomous' momentum by extremists or directly authorized by the Pakistan Government. Hurried conclusions are part of the old blaming habits, but the people's reactions are a contrast to those when the terrorists attacked our Parliament in 2001.

4) Only three years ago, it would have been unrealistic to think of the revival of the idea of 'Punjabiat', mooted last year with a meeting between the representatives of both Punjabs. Apparently both sides have forgotten the trauma of the 1947 holocaust and there is impatience to revive the bonds of common language and culture of the province, disregarding the differences in religious faiths.

5) In reacting to the major earthquake disaster with the epicentre in Pakistan-controlled Kashmir, the logic of humanitarianism, ethnicity and geography overtrumped the political hesitations. Old mindsets in the military establishment in Pakistan showed

the ingrained hesitations but desperately urgent and publicized relief needs demanded rationality. The Indian helicopters were not accepted by the Pakistan Government unless they could be operated without their own crew. This was not insisted upon for couriers from other countries. In the end, humanitarian pressure prevailed and so five relief centres for trans-border supplies and connections across the Line of Control were permitted. It is, however, a significant earnest of the LOC turning into a soft border. How long can people be tear-gassed from innocent contacts with families in obvious misery?

6)   It was also significant that India joined the donor conference and pledged 25 million dollars for relief in POK.

7)   It is only a matter of time that, defying the displeasure of the USA, the economic logic in decision making in Iran, Pakistan and India will see the overriding benefits of the transnational gas pipeline from Iran to India. After 60 years of deep-rooted artificial suspicions, in the end economic globalization must change the regional rigidities.

8)   Optimizing functional co-operation, however, has still a long way to go. It would be irrational, however, to despair and obstruct moving towards the goal. It reinforces the broad title of the series of this conference in the memory of our respected mentor P N Haksar, 'The Irrelevance of Borders for Achieving Peace and Prosperity'. India, Pakistan, Nepal, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Bhutan and Maldives must recognize their own selfish interest lies in the linked co-prosperity of the entire subcontinent. Old India had broadly a composite culture and natural economic interdependence; the gains will only be optimal if all constituent countries, including their civil and military establishments, recognize the benefits of shorter transportation and economic complementarities. The logic has always been stronger in South Asia than in any other group of neighbouring nations. We had worm's eye perspectives in the past in shutting our eyes to this incontrovertible logic. My own view has been that instead of letting Bangladesh military rulers proposing it, with the non-publicized logic of cementing it around anti-Indian hegemonism, India should have proposed the SAARC. Moreover, India should not have banned discussions on any

bilateral problems. Anyway, the progress towards it is now implicit in SAFTA and SAPTA.

The boulders are still enormous, but let us recognize they are political, historical, and above all, mentally derived from conditioned mindsets. Both India and Pakistan must not be hesitant in confessing their share of the guilt and end 'in doing what comes naturally' by resisting the habit of scapegoatism. Today the courage of a vision is evident at the apex level, but is buttressed now by the people's sentiments with their human and humanitarian instincts showing impatient weariness of the old stalemate.

With the license of irresponsibility but looking ahead, let me mention some mountains ahead but, which can be climbed diplomatically if we keep in forefront our sense of shared destiny

1) Recognizing the futility and the astronomical opportunity costs of nuclear weapons, India and Pakistan should, by agreement, open their nuclear establishments for IAEA inspection. As mentioned earlier, nuclear weapons give only the illusion of power for national security; experience has confirmed that nuclear armouries never frightened even small countries. If Delhi or Islamabad were attacked, neither government could be certain that Lucknow and Lahore might not suffer radioactive fallout. Should we not follow Libya and aim to recapture the moral high ground now commanded by Nelson Mandela, which he says was inspired by Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King?

2) Recognizing the economic benefits of functional harmonization and optimization of free trade without artificial barriers in South Asia as a whole, India and Pakistan should be jointly active to restore stability in Nepal and rescue Bangladesh from militant extremism. Without all countries joining in the crusade to exploit natural complementarities, no country in South Asia will prosper fully. But with Pakistan in the effort, and hopefully the existing intelligence agencies' moles being muted, India's image of hegemonism — never wholly warranted — will be significantly assuaged. The economic advantages of geography and national social and economic progress being interconnected regionally should overcome entrenched hesitations.

3) Some wholly paranoiac mistakes of the last 60 years cannot now be politically undone but could be acknowledged. The Farakka project was at least a commitment to the non-productive wastage of water; the decision to build it was part of beggaring the neighbour. Even with 40,000 cusecs diverted into the Hooghly, Kolkata port is inevitably going to get silted and ships drawing 20 feet would not be able to dock in Diamond Harbour. More and more East India's seaborne trade will have to depend on Haldia. In due course, Chittagong could provide easier access for Assam. Similarly it does not matter which foreign country or company built hydel projects in Nepal, the waters would still flow into the Ganga, but a restored rational attitude would optimize wealth and per capita income for Nepal. India, by unrealistically hostile suspicions, forfeited improvement in power availability for itself and easier flood and silt control in UP and Bihar, as well as greater availability of water for agriculture and industry downstream — and, therefore, purchasing power — in Bangladesh. If half or more of Nepal is today under Maoist control, it is because a worm's eye view was taken both in India and Nepal, which has turned the country into a mountain desert. Honest confession would be a master stroke in improving the climate for sub-continental diplomatic rationality. It would be in the interest of India and even Pakistan to save Nepal and Bangladesh from self-destruction, by encouraging the sale of surplus power from Nepal and gas from Bangladesh to India and even to other markets. The fact, deliberately underplayed, is that the per capita income derived from hydel power with only 400 MV of generation in Chuka in Bhutan is three times that of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Nepal. Exploiting natural resources co-operatively would by now have made Nepal and Bangladesh as prosperous as Malaysia, if not Singapore!

4) In other words, India must stoop to regain the old trust of its neighbours, remembering that the over-riding lesson of twentieth century technology is the enhanced capability of political defiance by the weak, which gives equality to the unequals and at least negatively democratizes the international system against coercion. With the atrophy of military capacity, diplomacy with participatory sensitivity alone can overcome

unwarranted suspicions and lead to exhilirating beneficial progress.

5) Pakistan has its own share of beggaring the neighbour. For example, if the hypnosis of suspicions is eased, Pakistan's objections to Baglihar will be seen as wholly unfounded apprehensions. Whoever controls Kashmir must have more power and security fears from the run-of-the river projects, as was shown in Salal, are unwarranted.

6) Siachen could be easily resolved as a monstrous folly — and so would Sir Creek — if the opportunity costs in development are weighed against wholly hypothetical fears.

7) The rationalization in the utilization of the Indus Canal System could justify a link canal from the Chenab into the Ravi without adversely affecting the canal colonies in Pakistan. It could make available more water for Haryana and Rajasthan. Similarly Sindh and Rajasthan could get shots in their respective economic arms by restoring linkages of road and rail communications and, possibly enabling irrigation from the main flow of the Indus.

8) The compilation, with scholarly precision brought out jointly by the International Centre for Peace Initiative under the title *Cost of Conflict between India and Pakistan*, carrying Forewards by Niaz Naik and Sandeep Waslekar, has many charts and tables which are indicative of feasible positive improvements by a calibrated reduction in the likelihood of another conflict. It seems to me incontrovertible that both India and Pakistan, like Nepal, are likely to suffer more 'internal terror,' not so much because of religious militancy but the exoticism of militarization for worst-case scenario — combined with poor governance — causing inadequate resource availability. We must show sagacity nationally and regionally to limit defence to 'sufficiency' and so reduce the volcanic eruption from deprivation and inequity, which provides the real tinder of terror. Long ago, I took the risk of stating that while nuclear conflicts were unlikely, the lawless lapse from the sluggish pace towards social equity is a more certain possibility and can be as destructive in the long run as hypothetical nuclear or conventional wars. We will never have 'butter' for all if we are to wait till we have satiated all the demands for 'guns'. Professional diplomacy must take the risk

and responsibility to identify the shape of the likely threat and, for the sake of national security itself, have the courage to reject the unlikely contingencies, which divert resources for prophylactic allocation against terrorism.

The thrust of these arguments could be dismissed as unrealistic or premature. Statesmanship should, however, weigh against the dangerous consequences of drift. The opportunity cost of the paranoia punished South Asia for 57 years; it must be reversed by confessing and learning from the exposed fallacies of the twentieth century. This dawn of sagacity might have a better chance if we recognize holistically the cost of poor anticipation of the gallop of technology; but technology has also opened immense constructive possibilities. Political defeat, after a spectacular military success of USA in Iraq, has dramatically shown the mirror to the most powerful nation of the world. The challenge is not being ashamed to consciously sift the hypnosis of history.

Softening of Borders for Achieving Peace and
Prosperity: Problems and Prospects

18

Socio-Economic Approach for Softening Borders

Implication of Experience in the Korean Peninsula

Dong Ju Choi

I

The Korean peninsula still remains one of the most heavily fortified territories in the world. Its demilitarized zone (DMZ) is still of great strategic importance at a time when traditional boundaries in other regions have lost some of their geographical significance as a result of the end of the Cold War. The South's dilemma is overwhelming, since policy makers have to face not only an imminent security threat including nuclear proliferation, but simultaneously non-conventional threats, such as famine and environmental scarcity arising from Pyongyang's economic crisis. This has produced the efforts to promote confidence and trust on the Korean peninsula that begun under Kim Dae Jung's 'Sunshine Policy' and continued with Roh Moor Hyun's 'Policy of Peace and Prosperity', so important for the security of not only the two Koreas, but the broader Northeast Asian region as well.

Especially, conflict prevention has been the most urgent task for the South Korean Government since President Bush won the November 2004 election. Concern has continued to grow over national security, amid speculation that the USA will get tougher with the North with the potential rise of hawkish neo-conservatives in the new Bush Administration. President Roh has made it clear that a hardline approach will only prolong the sense of instability and threat indefinitely. Therefore, he clearly expressed his objections to any military options backed by 'neocons'.

On the other hand, active exchanges on an official basis, since Kim Dae Jung took power in 1998, between the two Koreas were suspended after Bush took office for his first term. North Korea wanted

to get what it needed without losing face; however, the Bush administration required reciprocity and transparency, which could undermine North Korea's sense of self-respect. North Korea returned to the dialogue table when the South Korean Government decided to offer support to revive the Mt Gumgang Project in March 2000. The Mt Gumgang project, however, could provide the North with only temporary relief. For the South, therefore, it was meaningful to seek ways to advance stable economic relations between the two and also to support the pro-reform group within the country, which separate the economic issue from the nuclear issue, expected to defreeze with development of the Six-Party Talks.

The goal of this paper is to provide a brief analysis of the background and impact of South Korea's efforts to soften protracted border tensions through direct and bilateral economic co-operation with the North, while excluding a detailed discussion over the nuclear issue, which is undergoing through the measure of multilateral approach.

<center>II</center>

Border Conflicts and Border Economics[1]

The number and intensity of border conflicts have increased drastically over recent decades. Many of these conflicts are referred to as 'ethnic wars' and 'ideological or religious wars', implying that they are caused by ancient tribal hatred and that nothing can be done about them. This 'has been the patina of logic to indifference'.[2] Yet, one wonders whether this is a valid assumption and whether anything can be done. In particular, as a social scientist, I wonder if economic policy can do anything to prevent it.

After World War II, many wars were fought to gain independence from the colonial powers. Independence was only granted after wars in many countries. The frequently arbitrary partition of states by colonial powers induced secession wars. In some countries wars erupted or continued after independence, because of dissatisfaction with the terms of settlement or policies pursued by the government. In many countries border conflicts have been caused by disagreement over the politico-economic system put in place and the under-representation of certain groups to participate fully in the

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economy or government. A form of governance that was based on personal loyalties, nepotism, patron-client networks and coercion and involved extensive human rights violations often accompanied dictatorships. This has incited popular uprisings and insurrections. The association of military rule with the occurrence of conflicts, political violence and repression has been especially strong.[3]

Ideology was a fertile ground for those conflicts. Numerous wars, especially those that focused on the politico-economic system, have been fuelled by the Cold War. The US and USSR gave military aid, sent arms and intervened with military force for geo-political reasons, or simply to prevent the change of an ideologically akin government or to foster one. In some cases, this strategy might have temporarily meant fewer conflicts. In other cases it has not. The list of conflicts influenced by the Cold War strategy of the two superpowers is long and includes Afghanistan, Angola, Cambodia, Chile, El Salvador, Korea, Somalia and Viet nam.

Yet, the end of the Cold War has fundamentally changed the environment in which border conflicts are fought: each group has faced a sharp decline in financial support from Cold-War superpowers; with the demise of ideology, each side has one viable alternative less to fight for; and with a trend towards democratization, which was accelerated by the end of the Cold War, one side could be left with fewer dictators to be repressed by and one side against.

Economic development and interdependence that accompanied it have contributed to the peace that has existed in nearly all of Western Europe since 1945. Complex interdependence, where actors on several levels have contacts across the borders, has increased the cost of war tremendously, besides increasing the understanding between different peoples.[4] War will disrupt these layers of interaction. As a result of interdependence, conflicts are less likely to be settled by military means.[5]

With regard to this argument, it is observed that greater cross-border economic integration in many regions has caused the field of border economics to expand rapidly. It has also occurred as a consequence of growing recognition of the necessity to examine economic phenomena within the unique contexts imposed by geo-political market segmentation. Some of the areas in which substantial research efforts are being directed include population, business cycle transmission, exchange rates, industrial development, labour markets, and natural resources.

A large number of studies have analysed the important ways in which border region demographics differ from those associated with nations that lie adjacent to each other. Many of these studies involve borders between economies that are characterized by substantial income differentials such as Mexico and the USA.[6] When accompanied by high rates of joblessness, income disparities between countries frequently result in migratory outflows from low earning regions to higher income markets.[7]

In terms of business cycle transmission, the case has considerable implications for the context of this paper. Economic integration has increased throughout the global economy in recent years. This development has occurred in a large measure due to worldwide advances in commercial and financial deregulation. It carries with it a variety of opportunities and risks. While deregulations allow commercial exchange to occur more efficiently, borders still influence business development patterns in noticeable manners even between highly integrated trade partners such as Canada and the USA.

A prominent change that has accompanied greater cross-border economic ties between Mexico and the USA is rapidly growing volumes of intra-industry trade. That pattern is not exclusive to that region and is readily observable in other national and border economies. Not surprisingly, the border region impacts of globalization have also been documented with respect to wages and salaries. Although increasing returns to labour carry generally favourable impacts, they may not always be accompanied by positive externalities in municipal public finances. Because many border economies have limited tax bases, the effectiveness of development incentive programmes in these regions is a topic that merits additional attention of researchers.

Cross-border industrial linkages influence a wide range of regional economic outcomes. In the cases of city pairs that straddle the border between the USA and Mexico, complementary growth impacts have been documented. A growing number of European and North American empirical studies have begun to isolate both spatial investment and dynamic payroll outcomes associated with these trends.[8]

Finally, regulatory issues and international politics have minimized cross-border trade in energy services on a global basis.[9] Although these obstacles are problematic, enormous benefits can result

from greater international public utility network integration that permits lowering of both infrastructure fixed costs as well as unit costs of production.

Although still lacking a commonly recognized pedagogical home, border economics is a rapidly expanding field of study. This is especially attributable in large part to the numerous policy issues involving boundary areas both 'between countries' and 'in countries'. In the case of the Korean Peninsula, we could say that in the short run, the case is 'between countries', but in the long run, 'in countries'.

III

Brief History of Reconciliation in Korean Peninsula

The Rhee Seungman regime (1948-60), which was the first government of South Korea, declared that South Korea was the sole legitimate government on the Korean Peninsula and emphasized that North Korea must join the South by holding free elections in accordance with the resolution passed by the UN General Assembly. Immediately following the Korean War, President Rhee called for the unification of the peninsula by advancing into North Korea. The next administration headed by Chang Myon (1960-61) was opposed to unification by a northward advance. Instead, the Chang Myon Administration proposed general elections, held simultaneously in North and South Korea under UN supervision, as the basis for national unification.

Inter-Korean relations faced new opportunities as the process of East-West detente proceeded in the 1970s. In his congratulatory speech on the twenty-fifth anniversary of National Liberation Day on 15 August 1970, President Park Chung Hee revealed plans for a peaceful unification. Subsequently, on 12 August 1971, the South Korean Red Cross proposed talks with the North Korean Red Cross. When the North Korean Red Cross accepted the proposal, the two Koreas were able to open an inter-Korean dialogue — beginning with humanitarian issues — for the first time since the country's division 26 years earlier. On 4 July 1972, the two Koreas simultaneously announced in Seoul and Pyongyang the July 4 Joint Communique, the first ever written agreement between the two sides. Through the communique, three principles for national unification were declared: autonomy, peace, and solidarity of the Korean nation.

During the late 1980s, as the Cold War was finally coming to an end, inter-Korean relations faced a critical turning point. In 1988, the Roh Tae Woo Administration (1988-93) announced on 7 July that it would assist the North in coming out of isolation, induce the opening of the North Korean regime in order to establish peace on the Korean Peninsula. On 11 September 1989, President Roh announced the National Community Unification Formula that featured a South-North confederation as a transition stage prior to unification and in August 1990, the Roh Administration enacted the Inter-Korean Exchanges and Co-operation Act.

Helped by these efforts, the first high-level inter-Korean talks were held in Seoul in September 1990. At the sixth round of talks in February 1992 in Pyongyang, the Agreement on Reconciliation, Non-Aggression and Exchange and Co-operation, the Joint Declaration on the De-nuclearization of the Korean Peninsula and the Agreement on Creation and Operation of Joint Commissions came into effect.

The Kim Dae Jung Administration (1998-2003) promoted a policy of reconciliation and co-operation towards North Korea, which recognized North Korea as a partner for seeking coexistence and coprosperity. At the same time, President Kim declared that there would be no tolerance of armed provocations by the North. He also rejected unification through unilateral absorption and instead actively promoted reconciliation and co-operation as principles to improve inter-Korean relations. Instead of hastily seeking a *de jure* unification, the objective was to realize a *de facto* unification, in which the people of North and South Korea can freely travel between the two sides to expand understanding and achieve reintegration through vitalization of exchanges and co-operation while maintaining a firm security posture. As a result of the consistent promotion of such a policy, the two Koreas held the first Inter-Korean Summit Meeting in June 2000 and adopted the Joint Declaration. Following the summit meeting, various inter-Korean talks have been held and meaningful progress in inter-Korean relations, especially in economic and humanitarian aspects, has been made.

The Roh Moo Hyun (2003-present) Administration introduced the Policy of Peace and Prosperity upon its inauguration in February 2003. The policy seeks to build upon the accomplishments of past administrations. The unification policies of past administrations took

into account international circumstances, inter-Korean economic relations and public opinion of the time.

<div align="center">IV</div>

Recent Developments

The economic downturn in North Korea began with the decline of its capital stock. The main reason for the capital decline was the collapse of the international co-operation network among socialist countries. The most severe shock came from the abrupt severing of economic relations with the former Soviet Union. The capital stock in North Korea decreased for the undermentioned reasons.

The first factor is capital destruction through increases in import prices. The destruction of the co-operative network among socialist countries abolished socialist-friendly prices, which usually ranged between one-fourth to one-third of the normal prices prevailing in the international market. Import prices climbed abruptly as socialist countries demanded normal market prices. North Korea imported mainly important investment goods and necessary production material and resources such as crude oil and coke. The three to four fold rise in the prices of important production material drastically raised the input value over the output value. This capital destruction resulted in severe de-industrialization, not unlike that in East European countries in the early 1990s.[10]

The second reason is a decline of capital utilization through a change in the payment system. The payment system among the former socialist countries changed from a clearing system using transfer roubles to one with hard currencies. North Korea was not prepared to pay for necessary import goods because of a traditional deficiency of hard currency. This caused a decline in capital utilization, which had adverse effects on production through capital destruction.

Finally, capital pull-out by the former Soviet Union shocked the economy. The former Soviet Union stopped providing loans in 1987. Moreover, it demanded the repayment of loans and pulled capital out of North Korea, in effect transforming the main capital provider into a capital extractor. All of these factors severely reduced real capital volume in North Korea. The capital decrease initiated abrupt negative economic growth in the beginning of the 1990s.[11]

The engagement policy of the Kim Dae Jung Government has encouraged North Korean leader Kim Jong II to come to the negotiating table. After the summit talks in Pyongyang in June 2000, the two sides realized what the Korean people have long desired. Separated families have visited family members on the other side, and ministers and officials have engaged in meetings to improve relations between the two. All these political changes were motivated by economic reasons and will undoubtedly influence economic activities for the better on the Korean Peninsula.

In this sense, inter-Korean economic exchange has been regarded as an important instrument that has helped transform the relationship between the Koreas from one of hostility to one of co-operation. With increasing economic gains, each is becoming a partner rather than a foe. Economic co-operation, therefore, can be the most practical way to build confidence between the two sides because, this co-operation could enable them to pursue common interests for mutual benefit. This co-operation is expected to help the two sides to form a national economic community in the near future. Moreover, political stability motivated by the summit in 2000 has reduced political risk as well as the combined risk premium. All these changes should contribute to increase of economic exchange and co-operation.

As far as business interests are concerned, there have been several key merits for investors from the South. First, the South can utilize the relatively cheap labour force in the North. Acknowledging that the wage level in the North is much higher in the case of SEZ (Special Economic Zone) than that of Vietnam or China, the North provided South Korean investors with another way to use its labour at a cheaper wage level, namely 'Processing on Contract'. This is a form of investment in which investors pay the wage on the basis of products, not workers or working hours. In this system, the average level of wage per worker is less than, or similar to, other Asian countries competing in this sense. This Processing on Contract has grown continuously and is now the main type of economic exchange between the two sides.

Second, the South has a chance of utilizing the abundant natural resources of the North. The North has abundant deposits of iron, coal, lead, zinc, tungsten, mercury, gold and silver. It is much cheaper for the South to import raw materials from the North. Third, the South can make use of the North as a transit point to other countries of the Eurasian continent. Even though the South belongs to the Asian

continent, it has not been able to reach her neighbours by land, which has the potential to reduce transport costs and vitalize economic activity with other countries over the near part.

Fourth, investors from the South have a chance of grabbing a piece of the future market in the North. Under the expectation that the two Koreas will be integrated in the economic sense, for us then early investment would make it possible to find optimal location and develop quality labour ahead of other competitors. Fifth, the domestic market is more or less saturated in the South and competition in the international market is becoming more intense. North Korea, therefore, may provide new room for economic growth. Especially, the joint Siberian gas development project could be an example of the potential for mutual economic benefit.

Finally and most importantly, North Korea can function as a supporting region for the South's economy in the manner Shenzhen does for Hong Kong. South Korean investors can shape and secure the new industrial landscape in the North. The industrial complex in Gaesong is a key example.

The South Korean Government, during the presidency of Kim Dae Jung, distinguished clearly between politics and the economy, regarding its policy towards the North. This policy helped the two Koreas nurture various levels of economic co-operation. Despite the ongoing political crisis, this economic co-operation is also evidenced by the ongoing talks between the two on the railroad connection through the DMZ, Mt Gumgang tourism, and the Gaesong SEZ development.

SEZs are administrative zones with special economic and legal status and they are physically and legally separated from the rest of the country. Strong economic autonomy is provided under the guidance of market economy principles and special economic considerations are given to foreign companies investing in the zones. The North has attempted to develop four economic zones: Gaesong Special Industrial Zone; Shiuiju Special Economic Zone; Rajin-Sunbong International Trade Zone; and Mt Gumgang Special Tourism Zone.

Shenzhen became a great laboratory for determining which western practices were most suitable for China at the beginning of the 1980s. As a result of the Chinese Government's efforts, Shenzhen — a natural expansion of the Hong Kong metropolitan region — was successful in attracting huge amounts of foreign investment, mostly

from Hong Kong companies. The success of the SEZs drove the Chinese Government to enlarge similar projects nationwide. These projects included economic and technological development zones, high-tech industrial development zones, and border and economic co-operation zones. Several conditions in the Chinese SEZs are applicable to North Korea.

First, immense investment from overseas Chinese with their wide and strong business network — South Koreans can potentially play that same role for North Korea. Second, proximity to Hong Kong and Macau and, with it, business opportunities and FDI — Gaesong has a similar proximity to Seoul. Third, commonality of Chinese language and convention with those in Hong Kong and Macau facilitated the investment process: the same language and similar conventions exist between the two Koreas. Fourth, coastal locations reduce transportation costs — the location of the North Korean SEZs also provides favourable transportation. And finally, low-cost labour with relatively highly disciplined workers — North Korea also has highly literate and disciplined workers, with a literacy rate of 99 per cent.[12]

Although the lack of sizable domestic markets and weak economic fundamentals in North Korea may make successful development of North Korean SEZs difficult, the success of the North Korean SEZs appears to be directly dependent on investment from the South. This dependence implies that investment from the South is even more important for the successful development of the North Korean SEZs than was investment from overseas Chinese for SEZs in China.

Among the four SEZs, the North Korean Government has officially announced to date, Gaesong — only 78 km from metropolitan Seoul — stands out as the most potentially viable SEZ. While past SEZ developments in the North brought about limited benefits to South Korea, the Gaesong SEZ is expected to broadly benefit the South. First, Gaesong will facilitate smooth industrial transformation of the South by absorbing its labour-intensive industry sector. Second, Gaesong will strengthen the new strategy of the South to develop the metropolitan Seoul area as a business hub of Northeast Asia. Finally, Gaesong will significantly contribute to alleviating the tension on the Korean Peninsula. Currently, the region between Seoul and Gaesong is the most intensively militarized area in the world. The development of a large-scale industrial complex in this region and the connection with Seoul

via railways and roads will make the cost of military action in this area much higher for both sides.

In following Soviet-style economic development for four decades, North Korea constructed an energy-intensive and industrialized economy with great emphasis on heavy industry. The Soviet Union, the world's largest oil producer at the time, provided North Korea with heavily subsidized oil during the Cold War. As a result, North Korea's per capita energy consumption grew much higher than in other countries.[13]

The fundamental reason for the energy problem in North Korea lies in the principle of self-sufficiency and the abrupt decrease in the subsidized oil supply from the old socialist countries. The principle of self-sufficiency prevented a flexible reaction to the changes in the external environment. The main causes of the energy crisis are: first, there were problems with coal supply. Structural problems like deepening coal mines, primitive mining methods and old equipment due to the lack of investment made coal mining more difficult. Second, problems with oil supply were encountered. North Korea could buy crude oil from the Soviet Union and China at socialist-friendly prices without foreign currency until the end of the 1980s. Third, equipment problems at power plants were serious. Fourth, the condition of transmission and distribution grid became poor. Estimates of transmission and distribution losses vary from 16 per cent to more than 50 per cent.

Korea decided to provide a vast supply of electric power to North Korea, should Pyongyang agree to dismantle its nuclear weapon programme. South Korea's Unification Minister Chung made the electricity offer to Kim Jong II on 17 June 2005, saying 'Seoul would string power lines across the border to points in North Korea and supply up to 2000 megawatts of electricity to alleviate North Korea's desperate energy shortage.'[14]

The Korean Government has been providing assistance to the North, based on the universal value of humanitarianism and a sense of a brotherhood for fellow Koreans, while also trying to realize inter-Korean reconciliation and co-operation.[15] Assistance to the North is significant in that it contributes not only to improving inter-Korean relations but also to relieving North Korean people's hardships, conveying a message of brotherhood, as well as recovering a sense of national community in the long run.

As for direct government-level assistance, the Korean Government believes that it is desirable to provide fertilizers, seeds, pesticides, and so forth to help improve agricultural productivity in the North, thereby contribute to resolving the North Korean food crisis, as well as improve the effectiveness and transparency of food distribution. From 1999 to the present, the South Korean Government has provided the North with 1,55,000 tons of fertilizers.

In case of assistance to the North through international organizations, most of the items are food and medical stuff. Because of the severe deterioration of the North Korean economy due to the serious floods and drought in the mid-1990s, North Korea requested food aid from international organizations for the first time in 1995. After the South delivered 1,50,000 tons of rice for the first time, the government has sent grains through various channels to help the North Koreans overcome their food crisis.

Upon the North's request, international organizations began to set-up relief programmes in the North. From 1996 onwards, the Korean Government participated in humanitarian relief activities sponsored by UN organizations such as WFP and UNICEF. The South began to supply the North with 1,00,000 tons of maize through the WFP starting in 2001.

Concerned that the number of malaria patients in North Korea would reach 3,00,000, and that the infectious disease was spreading at an alarming rate, the South sent medicines, mosquito nets and other material to the North through WHO in 2001 and 2002. In 2003, the South delivered medicines and other goods through WTO for the treatment of 3,00,000 persons. At the WHO Malaria Control Workshop held in Shanghai in November 2003, a North Korean participant stated that the number of malaria patients had decreased and expressed gratitude to the South for its support. For the North's children's malnutrition and remedy for the disease, the South continues to utilize the UNICEF channel to help them.

From 1995 to the end of 2004, private aid worth $424.77 million was sent to the North, accounting for 37 per cent of the total amount of $1.16 billion provided to the North for assistance. Following measures for expanding assistance to the North in 1999, designated private organizations were able to carry out relief activities on their own. When private-level assistance became active in 1999 there were 10 designated groups, but by the end of 2004, the number increased to 38.

There was also assistance for disaster-stricken Yongcheon, the very northern part of the North. On 22 April 2004, there was a major explosion near the Yongcheon railway station. The following day, the North informed international organizations and foreign embassies in Pyongyang about the mysterious explosion in Yongcheon. North Korea appealed to the international community for emergency relief.

Emergency relief supplies worth $9.62 million were delivered to the North in 10 shipments via the regular sea route between Inchon and Nampo and via the air route. Construction material and equipment worth $20.6 million were delivered to the North, employing diverse methods of transportation for delivery, depending on the nature of the items. The amount of public donations amounted to $14.16 million of private organizations' to $23.58 million.

Inter-Korean exchanges and co-operation have led to a substantial improvement in inter-Korean relations, including laying the foundation for the formation of a Korean national community, fostering the proper atmosphere for the settlement of the North Korean nuclear issue and easing tensions. In addition to expanding social and cultural exchanges and raising people's awareness of North Korea, inter-Korean economic co-operation is exerting a positive influence on the overall state of inter-Korean relations. Such exchanges are playing a major role in inducing North Korea to participate in Northeast Asian co-operation.

In the meantime, very meaningfully, three major inter-Korean economic co-operation ventures — the Gaesong Industrial Complex, the Inter-Korean Railway Project, and the Gumgang Mt Tour — have been producing substantive results, acting as the driving force in inter-Korean relations. Especially, first and foremost, the establishment of the Gaesong Industrial Complex and the start of production by several factories there hold great meaning for the divided Korean peninsula. Efforts are being made to ease tensions, pursue reconciliation and foster peace, moving inter-Korean relations towards coexistence. It is also true that reconnecting two inter-Korean railways and roads, and the inauguration of Mt Gumgang tour via land routes are contributing to easing tensions in the Korean peninsula, paving the way for deeper economic co-operation in the future.

In 2004, the number of visitors to North Korea, excluding tourists to Mt Gumgang, was 26,213, the largest number in a single year

since visits to the North were first approved in 1989. The increase is mainly due to a sharp rise in visits for economic purposes, including the construction of the Gaesong Complex. There were also visits to the North to provide material and equipment necessary for road and railroad reconnection to promote inter-Korean economic co-operation, including an automotive assembly project by Pyeonghwa Motors. Many of the academic conferences and media events have attracted South Koreans as well.

Inter-Korean trade in 2004 remained steady at $697 million, a 3.8 per cent drop from the previous year, due to sluggish commercial trade, while non-commercial trade showed a steady growth in the wake of full-scale development of the Gaesong Industrial Complex, promotion of the Mt Gumgang tours project and extended humanitarian support to North Korea, including the Yongcheon disaster assistance. In 1989, only 25 different goods were traded between the two Koreas. The scale and scope of trade has grown steadily, however, to 572 products in 2002, 588 in 2003, and 634 in 2004.

In the long term, the Roh Administration seeks to build a South-North economic community while creating a framework to facilitate peace and prosperity in Northeast Asia. The idea is to develop the Peninsula as a centre of peace and prosperity and have it contribute to regional stability and prosperity. In the inter-Korean economic community, the two Koreas would maintain their separate economies, but work gradually to integrate the economies through expanding exchanges and co-operation. The limitations caused by differences in systems and ideologies are relatively low while the potentials for complementary relations are high in inter-Korean economic co-operation. This makes the creation of a community comparatively easy, and it can serve to facilitate promotion of communities in other areas suffering border conflicts.

V

Conclusion and Implications

Amid the continuing military stand-off between South and North Korea, various forms of inter-Korean dialogue are under way and an atmosphere of reconciliation and co-operation is being maintained through three major projects for economic co-operation,

namely, cross-border railway and road connections; construction of the Gaesong Industrial Complex and Mt Gumgang tourism project. While North Korea is seeking to maintain its regime-stability under the banner of its 'military-first policy',[16] it is also introducing partial changes through economic reforms and market opening.

Border conflicts including civil wars have become the dominant form of armed conflict in recent decades. This paper has described how some of the factors fuelling these conflicts have changed over time and how economic policies are increasingly important in preventing them. The importance of the economic policy, for example, in ameliorating socio-economic disparities among different political entities, has grown as a result of some recent developments, including the end of the Cold War reducing the number of external interventions for geo-political reasons in wars; a trend towards democratization; economic reforms that have led to large distributional shifts; and the globalization of the world economy. With these developments, it has become more important that socio-economic factors do not become a reason for different groups — whether associated by region, religion, race, ideology, or roots — to revolt and that governments continually address the impact of economic policies and economic developments of different countries.

North Korea has fallen into a poverty trap, which causes the country to become poorer and poorer. There is no way out from the poverty trap other than with help from other countries, external investment and financing. North Korea has decided to open itself, although cautiously, at least to introduce necessary investment. It has acknowledged that the most favourable partner would be the South because of many failed attempts to induce investment in the past. South Korea is intensifying economic relations with the North in order to improve political and economic security. In the past, the North would not accept the South as a partner for dialogue. South Korea's active engagement through providing economic incentives has changed the North's policy. The rapprochement on the Korean Peninsula has been well realized in the international community, so that the US neocons and the conservative leaders in Japan can check up the development with a sense of alarm.

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Softening of Borders for Achieving Peace and Prosperity: Problems and Prospects

T V Rajeshwar

I have been asked to speak on the subject of 'Softening of Borders for Achieving Peace and Prosperity: Problems and Prospects'. India's borders are already soft enough and I do not know how much more softening the borders could afford to withstand. We have open borders with Nepal and a very porous border with Bangladesh. The continuous infiltration of militants from Pakistan has shown that the LoC dividing the two countries is not difficult to breach. However, our borders with China and Myanmar are manned effectively and, ironically enough, they are the least bothersome from the security point of view.

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the Fund for Peace had carried out a study recently and its review was published by its journal, *Foreign Policy*. It came to the conclusion that India is ringed with failed states and except for Sri Lanka, every one of India's neighbours is a failed or failing state. It ranked 60 states, which were in danger of 'going over the edge', as it put it. The review commented that Bangladesh was in a critical stage and assigned it seventeenth rank, while Pakistan ranked twenty-fifth. Myanmar and Bhutan were given twenty-third and twenty-sixth places respectively. Why they included Bhutan in this wrong company is not clear. If anything, it is a peaceful and peace loving country and industrializing and modernizing at a slow and steady pace.

To revert to the review, it listed 12 economic, social and political parameters which included demographic pressures, refugees and displaced persons, group grievance, human flight, uneven development, economic decline, delegitimization of state public services, human rights, security apparatus, factionalized elites and external intervention. The study argued that the danger of failing or failed states is now at the centre of global politics. The failed states

export many unsavoury things including international terrorists, large scale immigrants, drugs, weapons, etc. It referred to Nepal and said the state was 'sliding into chaos', and sends in large numbers of migrants into India, creating economic arid social pressures in India's border states. As for Bangladesh, its finding was that it was sinking into Islamic fundamentalism and would create inevitable pressures in India's fragile north-eastern states.

While Carnegie Foundation is believed to be a conservative and rightist foundation, the study carried out on this subject cannot be, in my opinion faulted. Taking the neighbouring states one by one, Bhutan is a peace loving country and a staunch ally of India. As for Sri Lanka, the relations between the two countries are constructive and co-operative, notwithstanding the unresolved festering problem of the conflict between Sri Lanka and its militant ethnic Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam or the LTTE.

As for Bangladesh, with which India shares over 4000 kms. of border, the security situation in the country has become a source of great concern. The recent demonstration by the militant Islamists in that country, which carried out serial blasts in the capital and every district of the state, except one, puts the problem in a nutshell. The problem is compounded by the fact that a pro-militant political group is a coalition partner in Begum Khalida Zia's government. There is enough evidence to show that there are nearly 200 camps of about 20 insurgent groups from practically every part of northeastern India. The ULFA from Assam is known to be running about 30 camps and the National Liberation Front of Tripura, as well as the National Democratic Front of Bodoland, are running nearly two dozen camps each. ULFA's top leaders, Paresh Barua and Anup Chetia, are known to be living in Dhaka, operating bank accounts and travelling out of Dhaka on false passports.

It may be recalled that there was a huge arms haul in Chitagong in April 2004 and although western sources pointed out that it was possibly an Al Qaeda operation, nothing came out of the investigation promised by Bangladesh Government. Again in June 2003, the Bangladesh Police recovered from a truck from Bogra, ostensibly carrying pineapples, a huge cache of arms and about 200 kg of RDX. Who were behind these operations and what were the destinations were not clear. It should be presumed that they were meant for the various insurgent groups in northeastern India and possibly for Nepal too.

The tragic fact is that Bangladesh, which was liberated in 1972 as a revolutionary secular state, has increasingly become a militant Islamic state. There are about 75,000 madrasas run by Islamists and funded by Saudi Arabia and a few other Islamic countries. The leading Islamic militant of Bangladesh, known as Bangla Bhai, has a larger than life status in Bangladesh and his outfit Jagrata Muslim Janata Bangladesh and two or three other militant organizations are said to be training their cadres in armed camps without any interference by the state.

The borders of Bangladesh are being fenced and this work has been going on for years. However, it is like closing the stable after the horse has bolted. I am referring to the huge influx of Bangladeshi migrants into India and especially in the states of Assam and West Bengal. Today, there is no state in India, which does not have Bangladeshi migrants. The northeastern states are full of them and the capital of Delhi has slum clusters with Bangladeshis. The Indira Gandhi-Mujibur Rehman agreement of 8 February 1972 regularizing all those who came to India till 25 March 1971, did not solve the problem. The reference of the Chief Election Commissioner in 1978 to the 'large scale infiltration of foreign nationals to states, especially in northeastern region is alarming and required drastic action' led to the founding of the All Assam Students Union, which started an agitation which ended only after the Assam Accord of August 1985, at the initiative of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. It facilitated the AASU coming to power after the Assembly elections which followed. The political equations within Assam, which changed with the large scale influx of Bangladeshis, remain with no possible solution in sight.

The problem in the border districts of West Bengal is also serious. When I was Governor of West Bengal in 1990-91, I had toured all the districts bordering Bangladesh, starting from Cooch Bihar and ending at 24 Parganas, which included a visit to some of the border Check Posts. A more open border between two countries is difficult to imagine anywhere in the world. In Jalpaiguri and Malda districts, the border between the two countries was marked by poles with a little red flags planted in the rice fields, which extended across both the countries. No wonder, by 1991, the influx had completely changed the demographic pattern of most of the bordering West Bengal districts. The Muslim population of 24 Parganas was about 31 per cent, Nadia 30 per cent, Murshidabad 28 per cent, Malda 30 per cent, West Dinajpur 30 per cent and so on. A study of the border belt of West Bengal showed

that 20 to 40 per cent villages in the border districts had become predominantly Muslim and this concentration of the minority community had resulted in the majority community moving to urban centres.

In Assam, the Muslim population of districts was even more alarming. Dhubri had 70 per cent, Barpeta 26 per cent, Golpara 50 per cent, Hailakandi 55 per cent, Karimganj 49 per cent and Cachar 35 per cent. Even the interior districts like Nagaon had 47 per cent, Marigaon 46 per cent and the distant Darrang, bordering Bhutan Arunachal Pradesh, had 33 per cent.

Tripura was completely overwhelmed with migration, with the ethnic tribals of the area becoming a miserable minority, which has led to unending conflict and the continuing insurgency there.

Although the migration has been largely Malthusian in character, and some of the Bangladeshi writers have spoken of Lebensraum for the growing population of Bangladeshi, no one has effectively dealt with the serious demographic challenge posed to India's security by this problem. Political parties flogged the issue when they were not in power and when they were in power they conveniently ignored it. Attempts by India to raise the issue at the highest level were rebuffed. During an official visit to Delhi on 9 May 1992 the present Prime Minister Begum Khalida Zia, who was then also the Prime Minister, flatly stated that there were no Bangladeshis on Indian soil and, therefore, there was no question of Bangladesh taking back anyone. This is the official stand even today. Any attempt on quantifying the number of Bangladeshi migrants in India would be a futile effort and the figure stands somewhere between one to 1.5 crore.

I wrote in 1992 a series of articles in *The Hindustan Times* setting out the problem in great detail; giving figures for the contiguous mass of land, with a population of nearly 2.8 crore of Muslims all along the entire West Bengal, Bihar and Assam Border. I said that the concentration in this crucial sector might lead to a great demographic imbalance and it could indeed be a major security issue.

Writing in his memoirs *The White House Years* and published in 1979 Dr Henry Kissinger has given a detailed account of the India-Pakistan crisis of 1971. He observed and I quote:

> The inevitable emergence of Bangladesh, which we (meaning President Richard Nixon and himself) postulated,

presented India with fierce long-term problems. For Bangladesh was in effect East Bengal, separated only by religion from India's most fractious and most separatist State, West Bengal. They shared language, tradition, culture, and, above all, a volatile national character. Whether it turned nationalist or radical, Bangladesh would over time, accentuate India's centrifugal tendencies. It might set a precedent for the creation of other Muslim States, carved this time out of India. Once it was independent, its Muslim heritage might eventually lead to a rapprochement with Pakistan.

Kissinger has proved right in his forecast on rapprochement between Bangladesh and Pakistan; indeed, it is much more than that, as we are seeing. I posed the question in the concluding article of mine, whether Kissinger would prove right in his other and far more serious foreboding, that Bangladesh would eventually accentuate India's centrifugal tendencies leading to the creation of other Muslim States, carved out of India this time? The problem is a demographic and security time bomb, which India could ignore it at its own peril.

With Nepal we have had a chequered history of relations. After the British left, India and Nepal concluded a Standstill Agreement, under which India's status as the successor power to the British was recognized and the terms of relationship between Nepal and India, as they existed prior to independence, were retained. Thus India implicitly accepted the 1923 treaty in which Nepal's sovereignty had been recognized and this went a long way in removing the fear in certain quarters in Nepal that it would share the fate of the princely states in India. The signing of Treaties of Peace and Friendship and Trade and Commerce by India and Nepal at Kathmandu in July 1950 marks an important landmark in Indo-Nepalese relations.

The treaty contains several important provisions and there were also letters of exchange which accompanied the treaty but were not made public until 1959. From the security point of view, Article 2 of the treaty enjoins both governments to inform each other of any serious friction or misunderstanding with neighbouring states, likely to cause any breach in the friendly relations subsisting between the two governments. The letter of exchange further stipulated that 'neither government shall tolerate any threat to the security of the other by a foreign aggressor. To deal with any such threat, the two governments

shall consult with each other and devise effective counter measures'. Under Article 5, Nepal had the right to import, through India, arms, ammunitions, equipment, etc., 'necessary to the security of Nepal'.

The 1950s witnessed revolutionary events in Nepal, with the Nepali Congress starting an armed struggle and the Ranas putting it down with an iron hand. King Tribhuvan, who was more or less a prisoner in his palace, drove into the Indian Embassy on 6 November 1950, and requested political asylum in India. Events in Nepal took a critical turn with armed conflicts taking place at several places. The Rana regime attempted to depose King Tribhuvan and place his four-year-old grandson on the throne, but the ploy did not succeed. King Tribhuvan returned to Nepal as a sovereign with full powers. A ten-man Cabinet headed by P Koirala assumed office and a constituent assembly was to draft a new Constitution. It was at the instance of Jawaharlal Nehru that the monarchy was retained, while the Nepali Congress and others were determined to do away with both the King and the Ranas.

After the death of King Tribhuvan in March 1955, and his succession by King Mahendra, Indo-Nepal relations steadily suffered a setback. King Mahendra set in motion a policy of distancing Nepal from India systematically and in a calculated manner. The signing of the Sino-Nepalese Treaty in Kathmandu on 20 September 1956 marks an important landmark and brought about close collaboration between the two countries. During the visit of Zhou-En Lai to Nepal in February 1957, he spoke of 'blood ties between Nepal and China' an obvious reference to the Nepalese groups of Mongolian origin which was termed as 'a calculated attempt to raise the blood pressure at New Delhi'. Nehru's remarks in Parliament in December 1959 that any aggression against Nepal would be regarded as an aggression against India evoked criticism.

In the mid-1988, Kathmandu received a huge consignment of arms and ammunition in about 400 trucks from China and these included anti-aircraft guns. A Minister visited Kathmandu, met the King and conveyed India's strong apprehensions, while Nepal came out with a facile answer that the arms were required for modernizing its army. On the eve of the arrival of the Indian team in Nepal for crucial discussions on the treaty relations in March 1990, Nepal had again reportedly received arms and ammunition in over 50 covered trucks from China. There was a bland denial, though the evidence in this

regard seems to be quite conclusive. On the import of 400 truck loads of arms including anti-aircraft guns from China in mid-1988, Lee E Rose, the well-known expert on Indo-Nepal relations, observed in January 1989 that 'the astonishing and equally amusing thing was soon after the arms were imported, the Nepalese Prime Minister for the first time talked of India's air intrusion in the "eastern districts of Nepal". He added that the 'Nepalese must understand that for their survival, China can never be an alternative to India. And in strategic terms, China can never counter balance India.' Rose thoughtfully observed that 'Nepal should have drawn lessons from the emergence of Bangladesh. After all China did not intervene on Pakistan's behalf during the Bangladesh war.

The assumption of monarchical power by King Gyanendra, after the extremely tragic massacre in the palace, and the present upheaval in Nepal due to Maoist insurgency, have all reduced Nepal to a state of extreme instability. The rule of the King, backed by the armed forces is getting increasingly confined to urban centres, particularly Kathmandu. The security situation countrywide is deteriorating alarmingly, but King Gyanendra does not seem to be reading the writing on the wall.

A constitutional monarchy has to come into being sooner or later, and if King Gyanendra himself comes to a settlement with the democratic forces as well as the Maoists, it will be good for Nepal and it will be good for India. But, India should be realistic enough to understand that a system of passports and Border Check Posts has to come into being sooner or later.

As for our borders with China and our relations over centuries with China, it was unfortunate that the conflict in 1962 should have taken place. The arbitrary change of maps by the Survey General of India in 1954, showing the boundary line in the Kashmir-Ladakh sector over the crest of the Kuenlun range instead of the Karakoram Range, thereby placing for the first time, the Aksai Chin area within Indian territory, was at the bottom of the dispute over the borders. T N Kaul has revealed in his memoir, *A Diplomat's Diary*, that during Zhou Enlai's visit in 1956 Nehru came out of the negotiating room and asked his advisers why India should insist on the Kuenlun range and not accept the Karakoram range. His advisers said that India had a cast-iron case and the Kuenlun range was better from the defence angle. God knows who these advisers were. There was no serious dispute in the Eastern Sector.

The Thandrong clash in 1986 was avoidable and so was Operation Checkerboard, which alarmed the Chinese to the extent of sending serious warnings to the Prime Minister of India through the US Defence Secretary and other channels. Fortunately it was during the Prime Ministership of P V Narsimha Rao that a treaty with China ensured the freezing of the border and facilitating communications between the armed forces on either side whenever problems arose. It was in 1978 that the Chinese told the Foreign Minister of India, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, when he took up with them Chinese assistance to Naga insurgents, that it was a matter of the past, and such assistance had ceased. There is no evidence that the Chinese violated this understanding any time later.

The present National Security Adviser, M K Narayanan, had been to Beijing recently for talks with his counterpart, the Chinese Vice-Finance Minister Yang Wenchang. I am sure, sooner rather than later, a satisfactory understanding and settlement with the Chinese will come about.

India's relationship with Pakistan is not likely to be cordial as long as the armed forces are in a position to call the shots in its polity. The history of partition itself led to the present conflict. After the Shimla Agreement in 1972, which, in my opinion; was a diplomatic victory for Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, while India had thrown away all its aces following the victory in Bangladesh and the surrender of 96,000 Pakistan armed forces. Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi was advised by an army of distinguished diplomats, namely P N Haksar, in whose memory this seminar is being conducted, D P Dhar, P N Dhar and T N Kaul. P N Dhar's revelations, almost 30 years later, regarding the informal undertaking of Bhuto to recognize the LoC as an international border was of no avail.

General Musharraf, who seized power in a military coup, launched the Kargil war and is not repentant about it. His aggressive posture at the Agra summit showed what he was and his frequent change of stance, and attempt to give the impression that he is genuinely interested in a peaceful settlement of the Kashmir issue and even more his assertion that he had closed down the militant camps in the POK area and elsewhere in Pakistan have to be taken with great reservations. As early as 2001, the USA had included Lashkar-e-Tayeba and Jaiesh-e-Mohammed in the list of designated terrorist organizations. The New York Times had reported that USA was fully aware

that Pakistan was training anti-Indian militants in AI Qaeda Afghanistan and infiltrating them regularly across the LoC in Kashmir.

This was in 1998. Today in 2005 there is no qualitative change in this pattern. As a realist and a security analyst, I have no hesitation in saying that the atrocities, like the one which we saw in Delhi on 29 October and in Srinagar on 2 November were committed by the terrorist organizations, whatever the name, which are based in Pakistan and whose leaders are presumed to be in constant liaison with the ISI, which in turn no doubt reports to General Musharaff himself. If the General sincerely wants to end trans-border terrorism, all that he has to do is to order the arrest of the chiefs of militant organizations like Maulana Masood Azhar, Hafeez Mohammed Sayeed and others and close down the camps in Pakistan and the POK.

The Two Track diplomacy and the various conferences at various exotic places abroad, arranged and paid for by wealthy Pakistani businessmen settled in the States and attended by some of the retired Indian diplomats, are a futile exercise and will produce nothing. The hesitancy of General Musharaff in accepting humanitarian aid from India after the recent terrible earthquake showed the man, though he corrected himself somewhat later. His recent call for demilitarization on either side of the LoC was in effect another way of asking Indian armed forces to be pulled out of Kashmir. Both Pakistan and senior American diplomats have been advocating this for quite some time, without explaining how that would facilitate a settlement between the two countries. The agreement between the two countries to open entry points at six places along the LoC and the opening of telephonic communications between the two regions are giant steps towards normalizing relations between the two countries.

India has suffered grievously since the late eighties due to terrorism, primarily from Pakistan and POK. According to the South Asia Terrorism Report, 20,955 terrorists, 19,662 civilians and 7,320 security forces personnel have been killed in terrorist incidents between 1994 and 2005. The haul of weapons tells a graphic story — over 30,000 Kalashnikovs, about 60,000 grenades and tons of RDX had been recovered in Kashmir alone. As long as Pakistan's fixation over Kashmir remains as it is, and the stranglehold of the armed forces over the polity in Pakistan remains, there would not be complete normalization of relations between India and Pakistan, and there would not be realization on Pakistan's part that

any more fighting or terrorist attacks in Kashmir and elsewhere in India are futile. India's steadfast stand that there would be no redrawing of international borders remains valid. But there could always be marginal adjustments along the border as it happens in all international settlements. Till Pakistan realizes this and comes around, we have to endure the present state of affairs.

I thank you for your patience in listening to my rather long note, but I hope I have been able to present a fairly realistic picture of the situation along India's borders with its neighbours.

Softening of Borders between India and Pakistan:
An Overview
Ranjit Singh Ghuman

The international border between India and Pakistan was the natural outcome of partition and independence of the erstwhile British Empire in the Indian sub continent. In fact partition and independence came side by side. The present-day Bangladesh, earlier known as East Pakistan, was also a part of Pakistan till 15 December 1971. On 16 December 1971, East Pakistan attained the status of an independent sovereign state and became Bangladesh. Pakistan and Bangladesh are separated by about 1600 km of Indian territory.

The people of India, Bangladesh and Pakistan, prior to partition, till August 1947, had a long common historical past in terms of socio-cultural economic and political affinity. They jointly passed through many ups and downs over centuries in the face of foreign invaders/rulers. They also jointly participated in the struggle for independence from the British.

Since partition was on communal lines, it culminated in large-scale massacre and mass exodus of people. Though Punjab, Bengal, Rajasthan and Gujarat became victims of partition, the former two states were the worst sufferers. Punjab was divided into East Punjab (India) and West Punjab (Pakistan) and Bengal was divided into East Bengal (Pakistan) and West Bengal (India). The division was so rigid and cruel that the newly demarcated national boundaries (international border) cut asunder rivers, canals, mountains, transport network, economic structure, residential houses and even families. The military, police and civil bureaucracy were also divided between the two dominions.

As a fall-out of partition/independence nearly one million people — there are various estimates of the dead, some estimates keep this figure at half a million — and many millions — about 14 million in

Punjab alone out of nearly 30 million population of the then Punjab — were rendered homeless, resourceless, jobless and even orphans. It is estimated that 50,000 people were killed in Bengal between August 1946 and December 1947. Thousands of women were raped. There were also a large number of conversions. Such an irrational and lunatic behaviour on the part of Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs, on both sides of the borders for months together, was unparalleled in the history of the civilized world. The post-independence generations simply wonder how their forefathers could have resorted to such barbarism. Religious fundamentalism, communal considerations and vested political interests were behind these unprecedented happenings. As such, the bitterness and traumatic memories of the unparalleled sufferings are still fresh in the minds of the people, even after 58 years of partition.

Political and economic relations between the two neighbouring countries have experienced various ups and downs, peace and hostility, ever since their inception as sovereign states. The leadership — political and religious — in both the countries and in both the Kashmirs must ask themselves how long they would continue to cultivate and nurture hatred and hostility. They must come out of the narrow vested interests and shun using the people against each other. Saner people on both sides of the border must come forward and raise a united voice for establishing peace in the region. In fact, the peace initiative and the composite dialogue during the last couple of years are the result of saner peoples' pressure on both sides of the border. The initiatives towards dialogue for peace are being viewed as confidence building measures (CBMs). Steps towards the creation of a congenial atmosphere have encouraged and strengthened the saner political leadership in both the countries to take bold initiatives for restoring lasting normalcy and peace in the region. The ongoing peace process between the two hostile countries would, one day, convert the international border and the LoC into a 'line of peace'. The softening of borders between India and Pakistan, followed by Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh's advice for 'making borders irrelevant' should be viewed in this context. Revolution in information technology is rendering international borders irrelevant across the globe. India and Pakistan should also learn a lesson form the changing global scenario and listen to the voice of the people.

There is around 2400 km-long delineated international border between India and Pakistan. There are minor disagreements regarding

200 km of international border falling in the Jammu region as India considers it part of the international borders but Pakistan considers it a working boundary. Besides the international borders, there is about 750 km-long line of control (LoC), which mainly divides the Indian part of Kashmir, and Pakistan occupied Kashmir (PoK) — Pakistan calls it Azad Kashmir. The LoC nearly corresponds to the erstwhile ceasefire line (CFL), which was created after the suspension of hostilities on 1 January 1949. It was delineated on maps during the Karachi Agreement, under the auspices of the United Nations, of 27 July 1949. This UN-mandated CFL was replaced with a new line, known as LoC, after the Shimla Agreement of 2 July 1972. It was delineated on maps and demarcated by top military officers from India and Pakistan.

The northwest point of the LoC ends at NJ 9842, beyond which the boundary between the two countries is not defined by the LoC. As such there are different interpretations of the boundary line which led to the 1984 conflict in Siachen. Since then both India and Pakistan have maintained thousands of troops on Siachen glacier, at a height of more than 20,000 feet. At the south end of the border, the two countries have yet to arrive at an understanding on delineating the border along Sir Creek, which is a 75 km estuary that lies between the Sind province of Pakistan and the State of Gujarat in India in the Rann of Kutch. Both the countries have erected border pillars and numbered them, except the 200 km stretch in Jammu and the 75 km stretch in the Rann of Kutch. Fencing of the international border is also near completion. Until the Pakistan intrusion in Kargil, the sanctity of the LoC had been accepted and respected by both India and Pakistan. In other words, the CFL/LoC has been the *de facto* border between the two countries since 1949.

As the two dominions could not make a smooth transition to independence, political and economic relations between them as sovereign countries have remained marred by their legacy, right from the very inception. In fact, hatred and fear psychosis overshadowed their relations from the very beginning. Political and religious leadership in both the countries was suspicious of one another. The war over Kashmir in 1948 added fuel to the fire and to this day it has remained the main bone of contention.

The two countries were engaged in wars in 1965 and 1971. After the 1965 war they signed the Tashkent Agreement and after the 1971 war the Shimla Agreement. As a result of the 1971 war, the eastern

wing of Pakistan became an independent country in 1972 and came to be known as Bangladesh. Diplomatic relations remained suspended during the 1966-74 period. There have been occasional happenings of cross-border firing by both the countries since then. In fact, the international border and the LoC between them have always been active and live. It culminated in the Kargil conflict and the massive movement of forces on both sides of the border in 2002.

Pakistan never reconciled to its defeat and unprecedented surrender of nearly 93,000 soldiers and officers of the Pakistan Army to the Indian Army in 1971 and the consequent emergence of Bangladesh in 1972. Pakistan firmly believes that the 'Mukti Bahini' (army for liberation), which eventually led to the creation of Bangladesh, was the creation of India (Mehta, 2001). Pakistan President, General Musharraf, at his press conference on July 2001, justified the Kargil aggression and asserted that Pakistan's support for the 'Jihadis' in Kashmir was like India's arming the 'Mukti Bahini' in the erstwhile East Pakistan.

Kashmir has always been a problem in Indo-Pakistan relations. The ruling elites have used and abused the 'Kashmir issue' for domestic consumption ever since independence (Khan, 2002). According to a Pakistani scholar (Samina, 2002), three basic schools of thought have been structuring the Pakistani discourse on Kashmir. They are: (i) the orthodox school that sees India as unconditionally hostile, arguing that India had never accepted the reality of Pakistan, nor was it willing to consider it as an 'equal' in the region; (ii) the Islamist school of thought holds that there is a vast international conspiracy against Islam by Hindu India, the Christian West and Jewish Israel. As such it was Pakistan's religious and moral obligation to support the 'Jihadis' in Kashmir and elsewhere; (iii) the moderate/liberal elements in Pakistan's decision-making circles do not consider India to be unconditionally hostile to Pakistan; they plead for Pakistan's economic reconstruction rather than following the first two lines of thought. The policy-making elite in Pakistan — the military and the civil bureaucracy — however, mainly comprises the first two schools of thought — the conservatives and the ultra conservatives. The former believe that India wants to dominate the South Asian region while the latter subscribe to the view that the bigger neighbour would not lose any opportunity to further damage or destroy Pakistan.

Clearly, Kashmir continues to be a core issue between India and Pakistan even after fighting three and a half wars and a death toll of nearly 35,000 during wars and conflicts. Of the total geographical area of Kashmir, two-thirds are with India and POK constitutes one- third of it. The positions of India and Pakistan on Kashmir are diametrically opposite. For Pakistan, Kashmir is a disputed territory and cannot be accepted as part of India. India holds the firm position that Kashmir is an integral part of India. Both positions seem to be unachievable. Even if India succeeds in capturing POK, after a full-fledged and long drawn war, it would have to deal with more than two million hostile Muslim population of POK, who would not be loyal to India. On the other hand, Pakistan does not seem to have the capability to capture the Indian province of Jammu and Kashmir by force. General Musharraf admitted in New York in September 2004, that there could be no military solution to the Kashmir problem. For the time being, India refuses to accept the change in the existing frontier, while the LoC as the international border is not acceptable to Pakistan. Both sides appear to be looking for a 'soft border' approach, allowing Kashmiris to move to-and-fro with ease, to eventually make the issue of an international border irrelevant. Opening of the Srinagar-Muzaffarabad bus route and the LoC and other such measures are signals in that direction.

The rationale for having normal, healthy and friendly relations between the two neighbouring countries stems from the unsustainability of hostile relations, unsustainable defence expenditure, high cost of acrimonious relations, low level of per capita income, poor quality of life, poverty, inequalities, and widespread unemployment and underemployment. The people of both the countries are putting pressure for friendly relations with each other. There is also global pressure for putting an end to hostile relations between India and Pakistan.

As regards the economies of the two countries, they have been the victims of prolonged hostile relations. Both countries fall in the category of low income countries, with a per capita income of less than $500 per annum. In terms of the human development index (HDI), India ranks 127 and Pakistan 132 in the descending order as per the UNDP Human Development Report.

About one-third of their population is still living below the poverty line. Nearly eight to nine per cent of their labour force is unemployed. Approximately 31 per cent of adult Indian males and 54

per cent of adult females are still illiterate. In the case of Pakistan the corresponding figures are 42 per cent and 71 per cent. More than 60 per cent of their workforce is still employed in the primary sector. The proportion of capital expenditure to the Central Government expenditure in India declined from 11 per cent in 1990 to eight per cent in 2000 and in the case of Pakistan it declined from 12 per cent in 1990 to nine per cent in 2000.

The not-so-good relations, political immaturity, fundamentalist approach to the problems and fear-psychosis on both sides have resulted in a huge loss of men and material during all these years. Both countries are continuing with hatred and enmity towards each other. As a result they have suffered huge losses for not developing economic co-operation with each other, apart from spending a huge amount on defence.

Pakistan has been spending between 6.52 per cent and 7.22 per cent of its GDP on defence during the 1986-93 period and between 4.32 per cent to 5.83 per cent during the 1994-2001 period. Compared to it, Indian expenditure on defence, as a percentage of its GDP, ranged from 2.71 per cent to 3.37 per cent during the 1986-90 period and from 2.16 per cent to 2.50 per cent during the 1991-2004 period. As a percentage of Central Government expenditure, defence expenditure ranged between 32 per cent and 38.67 per cent in Pakistan during 1986-87 to 1996-97. It came down during the later years and ranged between 17.19 per cent and 28.97 per cent. In the case of India, it ranged from 14.68 per cent to 18.39 per cent during the same period. A major proportion of this may be attributed to the threat perception from each other and the fear-psychosis.

The per capita annual expenditure on defence in Pakistan was US$ 27 in 1999. Contrary to it, Pakistan's public expenditure on health was 0.9 per cent of its GNP during 1990-99. During the same period its public expenditure on education has been 2.7 per cent of its GNP. Compared to it, India's public expenditure on health and education during the 1990-98 period was 0.6 per cent and 3.2 per cent of its GNP, respectively. The per capita annual expenditure on defence in India was US $ 12.5 in 1999. In fact, the annual per capita defence expenditure in India and Pakistan increased from Rs. 134 and Rs. 410, respectively in 1986-87 to Rs. 640 and Rs. 1224, respectively in 2003-04. Pakistan's military expenditure is 1.67 times more than its combined public expenditure on health and education, so vital for human development.

The recent 'Operation Parakram' might have cost about Rs. 20,000-25,000 crore to India and Rs. 15,000-18,000 crore to Pakistan. The cost of developing a balanced nuclear deterrent programme would be around Rs. 7000 crore in Pakistan, spread over 10 years and even higher in India. If the troops are mobilized again in the near future on the pattern of 2002 for a year, it would cost India US $ 3320 million (0.46 % of the GDP) and US $ 1575 million (2.25 % of the GDP) to Pakistan.

Defence expenditure is not the only measure of cost. The cost of acrimonious relations has many other dimensions. It leads to a breach of peace and stability which adversely affects growth and development and leads to a negative transformation of institutions. Human cost, which is the most important cost, cannot be quantified in terms of money. According to some estimates, the human cost of the wars between India and Pakistan was a death toll of 22,600 and another 50,000 maimed or wounded on both sides.

The Strategic Foresight Group's Report (SFG) on the Cost of Conflict between India and Pakistan takes into account comprehensive economic costs, socio-political damage, military costs, diplomatic costs, human costs and even the implications of the nuking of Mumbai and Karachi. As per the report, the Siachen conflict alone will cost India Rs. 7200 crore and Pakistan Rs. 1800 crore during 2004-08. Together they will lose about 1500 soldiers during this period in Siachen without fighting a war. Pakistan's conflict economy — gross terror product (GTP) and military expenditure — is more than 10 per cent of its GDP. Kashmir's GTP is estimated to be Rs. 3.5 billion. During 1989-2002, Kashmir suffered a loss of Rs. 16,500 crore by losing 27 million tourists. As per the report, if peace does not prevail and terrorism continues, Kashmir will see 3700 deaths — civilians, terrorists, security personnel — per annum during 2004-08.

The ever-weakening trade ties and non-exploitation of the trade potential between India and Pakistan have caused immeasurable financial loss to them. Both the countries would have gained between Rs. 15,000-20,000 crore during the last five decades, had they fully exploited their mutual trade potential (Ghuman, 2001). The gains were mainly in terms of lower prices compared to the global prices and much lower transport and transhipment costs due to proximity with each other. It is strange that trade between the two neighbouring countries has been mostly through the Bombay-Karachi route whereas, on the eve

of partition, most of the trade used to be through the land route via the Wagah-Attari border. The distance between Amritsar and Lahore is about 50 km. It is irrationality of the highest order that goods are first transported to Bombay, then to Karachi and then to Lahore and other surrounding regions and vice-versa. It involves huge transport and transhipment costs. More so, opening of the Wagah-Attari border for trade can give a boost to border trade. Had there been strong trade ties between the two neighbouring countries, they would have also gained from their trade with the Middle East and the Central Asian countries and from intra-SAARC trade. Pakistan, too, would have gained a lot from transit fee on Indian trade to third countries via Pakistani territory and vice-versa. If peace prevails between India and Pakistan, trade between them has the potential to rise to US $ 2.65 billion per annum by 2008, as per the SFG Report.

The poor economies of the two countries can ill afford such a 'luxury'. Both should understand that the real might and security of a country lie in its economic strength and stability and not merely in its military strength. It is worth mentioning that both India and Pakistan have already fought three and a half wars besides numerous skirmishes. They could not solve any long-standing problem between them through war and violence. Rather, the complexities of problems have gone from bad to worse.

The first step towards normalization of relations between India and Pakistan would be to shed mistrust, hatred, fear-psychosis, etc., and then approach the issue with an open mind and a positive approach. Let us now translate the 'traditional enmity' into 'traditional friendship and co-operation'. By having friendly relations with each other, both the countries would be able to reap the enormous benefits of economic co-operation and reduce their defence expenditure. This would save them from the incalculable loss of men and material they have been suffering for more than 58 years. It is high time both the countries came out of the old syndrome and unitedly faced the challenges emanating from the changing scenario of globalization. Instead of wasting their energy and resources on nurturing and perpetuating conflict, they should focus on peace, stability, growth and development. In fact, development and prosperity are highly dependent on peaceful, normal and stable relations between the neighbours. This is the only way to find solutions to their pressing

problems of poverty, unemployment, inequality, illiteracy and poor health.

The Kashmir problem has done incalculable damage in terms of men and material to both the countries over the past 58 years. They cannot afford to continue with this problem for too long. It would be irrational to continuously hostage nearly 1330 million people in India and Pakistan for the sake of about 23 million Kashmiri population on both sides of the LoC (rather international border).

Both India and Pakistan have been paying an extraordinarily heavy price for their procrastination on Kashmir and other core issues. As such, Pakistan's singular pre-occupation with Kashmir and India's rhetoric of 'no talks without stoppage of cross-border terrorism' would not solve any problem. They should engage themselves in continuous dialogue, as the eventual solution would emerge out of dialogue and an attitude of give and take rather than that of war and violence. The eventual solution of the Kashmir problem would, of course, be a political solution that may either be the acceptance of the LoC as the international border or allowing the Kashmiris to decide and determine their own future. Converting the LoC into a permanent border is the best solution according to Muttahida Quami Movement (MQM) Chief Altaf Hussain (*The Hindustan Times*, 2004). But the resolution of the Kashmir issue, according to Hussain, will leave the Pakistan Army with no excuse to stay in power. It will have to make way for a democratically elected government. Earlier, too, on at least two occasions — first in 1955 and then in 1972 — attempts were made to accept CFL/LoC as the international border.

Promotion of trade relations, joint-ventures, joint marketing, joint study groups on trade and other issues, permanent trade counsellors in each other's High Commission, strengthening of SAARC, joint patrolling of the LoC, end to propaganda war and hatred, frequent meetings of the bureaucracy and political leadership, track-II diplomacy and people-to-people contact, etc., could be some steps towards confidence building before the eventual resolution of the core issues. The energy sector, water management, agriculture, industry and technology, communication, transport, gas pipeline and natural resources are other areas of co-operation.

To attain and sustain normal and healthy mutual relations, there is need for a strong political will, along with sincerity and

statesmanship of the highest order. Durable peace in the subcontinent can come only after a satisfactory solution the Kashmir problem. India, being a bigger country, has greater responsibility than Pakistan. Saner political leadership and people in both the countries must prevail upon the fundamentalists on both sides. Both Indian and Pakistani leadership must transcend the past syndrome and march jointly towards the betterment of their people, including the Kashmiris — earlier the better — otherwise posterity would curse them for their acts of omission and commission. It is, thus, the time to normalize and strengthen relations and convert the international border and line of control into a 'line of peace'. The whole issue of softening the borders between these two neighbouring countries should be viewed from this angle.

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21

Thinking About Boundaries
Rila Mukherjee

I

Why am I talking about boundaries — a term that has little resonance today — at this meeting of planners and policy makers at a session devoted to borders? It is well known that in today's world boundaries have little meaning. Territory, borders, frontiers and lines of control are the terms that resonate in foreign policy perspectives, considerations of strategic interest and regional co-operation. These are the terms that describe and determine one state's relations with another. Why am I then talking to this august audience about past practices that seem to have little relevance today?

I am talking about boundaries rather than borders here because of many reasons. First and foremost, it is important to keep in mind that there was no one smooth passage from boundary to border. Borders as we know them today were constructed historically. In fact, very often borders came into being by subverting the pre-modern notion of boundaries, both in Europe and then in the colonized countries, a fact that we shall refer to in the course of this essay.

Second, in a post colonial context such as in South Asia, we find that not one but many notions of boundaries coalesce into borders. For example, local histories impart to the former imperial boundary that now separates Bangladesh and India meanings quite distinct from those that emerged after 1947 and 1971. These earlier histories continue to influence border practices even today. We shall have occasion to refer to these meanings later on in this essay.

This may be true in a post-national situation as well. In the case of the Franco-Spanish border, for example, Bray notes:[1]

Following the dismantling of most border controls within the European Union as a consequence of the 1985 Schengen

agreement, many communities located in border zones have had to reassess their socio-cultural, economic and legal relationships with neighbouring communities on the other side of state frontiers. This has been true, among others, for the towns of Irun and Hondarribia on the Spanish side of the Franco-Spanish frontier and the neighbouring town of Hendaia on the French side. Since the late 1980s, Irun, Hondarribia and Hendaia have sought to strengthen their relations with each other in an attempt to boost their local economy. This led, in 1999, to the launching of the *Bidasoa-Txingudi Cross-Frontier Consortium — Bidasoa-Txingudi Mugaz Gaindiko Partzuergo* in Basque — a formalization at the level of their municipal administrations of the ties between the three towns that form the area now known as Bidasoa-Txingudi. As at many other international borders, the communities on either side of the frontier have markedly different cultures, reflecting the dominant influences of the state of which each forms part. In parallel, however, both share a common Basque cultural and linguistic heritage, reflecting their location in the Basque speaking region that straddles the Franco-Spanish border at the western end of the Pyrenees. The result is an unusually complex environment, in which contrasting and sometimes conflicting issues of identity, ethnicity, nationality, sense of belonging, language and culture mingle and interact.

And again:[2]

In pursuit of its objective of forging a new metropolitan area out of the three towns, the Partzuergo has sought to promote a common local identity based on a heritage combining non-political elements that are Basque, Spanish and French. In doing so, the Partzuergo officially seeks to go beyond the frontier as a political and social boundary in a way that is highly relevant to the theoretical debates on identity, power politics and the use of culture as a political tool. By promoting cross-frontier social and cultural co-operation, the Partzuergo adds a new dimension to the co-existence of the Spanish and French States on either side of the frontier (my emphasis).

Borders, border identities, and border practices have become crucial issues of governance today. Sahlins (1989)[3], in his study of the construction of state national identity in the Cerdanya, straddling the

Franco-Spanish frontier to the east of the Pyrenees, noted how the existence of the frontier served to reinforce the formation of separate French and Spanish identities by providing a boundary across which to view the people on the other side. He observed how the inhabitants used the frontier for their own convenience, sneaking across it in order to avoid conscription and other civic obligations. This shows that the border does not just impose difference, but can be used by the local inhabitants to their own advantage. From this, Sahlins proposed a model of national identity based on instrumental manipulation. When it was in their interest to associate themselves with their cross-border neighbours, local inhabitants asserted their common Cerdans identity. When it was in their interest to deny any involvement with their neighbours, for instance in situations of rivalry or political divisions, or when comparing the lifestyle, economic progress and cultural 'openness' of the contrasting state contexts, they emphasized their nation-state identity. With this case, Sahlins demonstrated how nation-state identity develops not only through the nationalization projects of the state, but also through the interests of the local inhabitants. By incorporating the border into their social psychology over the centuries, they came to see each other as French or Spanish first and Cerdans and Catalan-speaking second; 'their national disguises ended up sticking to their skin' (1989:269). From this, Sahlins suggested a bottom-up approach to the construction of nation-state identity which remains relevant to analyses of identity in many border areas today.

With these conflicting notions of border and boundary prevalent in our world, it makes all the more sense to distinguish between boundaries and borders at this time. In everyday usage we often confuse the two because in our current perception the two are the same. This lack of distinction resonates in academic studies; for the political geographer the notions of border and boundary are the same: that it is a specific line or zone that demarcates one territorial body from another. According to Muir (*Modern Political Geography*, Macmillan, 1975), boundaries are:

> Located at the interfaces between adjacent state territories, international boundaries have a special significance in determining the limits of sovereign authority and defining the spatial form of the contained political regions... Boundaries have been loosely described as linear, in fact they occur where the vertical interfaces between state sovereignties intersect the surface of the earth. Frontiers, in contrast, are zonal and

therefore contain various geographical features and, frequently, populations. As vertical interfaces, boundaries have no horizontal extent...

This geographical definition of boundary as linear owes much to the cartographic project of mapping the modern territorial state that we discuss at the end of this essay. The political scientist, or the historian or the anthropologist, however, disagrees, with this simplistic definition. They find changes in nuance in the terms boundary, border, and frontier. For example, M Anderson, (*Frontiers: Territory and State Formation in the Modern World*, Oxford: Polity Press,1996), shed some light on the changing use of the concepts of frontier, border and boundary in political sciences, making a clear distinction between the three. According to Anderson the frontier has the widest meaning, which applies not only to the precise demarcation line where two state jurisdictions meet, but to the area around it (1996:8-9). In this way, Anderson understands the frontier as a zone of contact in which neighbouring populations maintain relations of contiguity. The border means both the demarcation line, and the zone around it, marked by the changing presence of the relevant states. The boundary, on the other hand, refers to the actual line of delimitation. So, after all, political science definition moves very close to the geographical notion of boundary, not surprisingly since this too is a discipline associated with the rise of the modern state.

But boundary in a pre-modern context denotes a zone and not a line. The terms used by Anderson are often used differently in history and anthropology. We thus have different meanings for the three in political geography, political science and anthropology. We will see in this essay how these terms were employed in history.

Historically speaking, and in the political context, boundaries in pre-modern contexts were not zones of containment. Rather they referred to areas that lay outside the control of state units. Socially, boundaries were areas that were inscribed with specific material practices and uses by surrounding territories from early times. While frontiers and borders alert us to lines which mark the extent of contiguous societies, boundaries can point to those abstract divisions which appear routinely, not just between cultures but between individuals who share the same culture. These abstract divisions are interpreted diversely by the individuals of the common collectivity.

With the recent transformation of frontiers, particularly in the EU, borders are recognized today as meaning-making and meaning-carrying entities, parts of cultural landscapes which often transcend the physical limits of the state and defy the power of state institutions, as observed by Donnan and Wilson[4]. Following this line of thought, recent academic analysis has focused on the 'porosity', 'permeability' and 'ambiguity' of state borders, and on the consequences that these imply for a unified sense of state national identity.[5] By stressing the 'blurred' quality of borders, these anthropological accounts highlight borders as particular contexts in which people of theoretically opposed notions of identity can cohabit in many domains of daily living, thereby making the distinction between state-national identities situationally irrelevant.

II

It follows from Sahlin's thesis that a local people's sense of border identity enables them to feel at ease within both state contexts, without necessarily feeling any strong national identity. Common to these accounts is the idea that when a common ethnic culture straddles a frontier, border inhabitants enjoy a special bond among themselves that overrides any state boundary. This is especially true of India's borders with Pakistan and Bangladesh, which comprise shared cultural zones based on Punjabi and Bengali identities respectively.

By looking at how boundaries are transformed by individuals, we can begin to understand the qualitative nature of collective boundaries. While state borders are clearly not contestable by the individual, boundaries, as subjective referents of the borders, are. As a 'social fact', the frontier is given meaning when a person consciously or unconsciously makes it into a symbolic boundary for his or her own strategies. How the individual interprets and uses the frontier as a symbolic boundary will depend on how that person feels his or her sense of identity, who s/he is interacting with, the nature of the situation, and the interests and objectives sought. The various social uses and interpretations of the frontier, which we have seen above, give clues as to how identity is constructed and expressed by individuals.

In history, with the advent of colonialism and in line with Westphalian state practices, boundaries between territories evolved

into zones and lines containing gradations of the notions of 'border' and 'frontier'. We have, therefore, two kinds of perceptions of borders. For the people living in the area it is a line to be crossed to carry on centuries old social and material practices, in short the everyday business of living. For the politician or the strategist it is a line that denotes the limit of the nation-state, beyond which people may become either anti-national or terrorist. National boundaries as depicted in maps are now sacrosanct symbols of sovereignty, but people who move across them routinely experience these same boundaries as mere obstacles to mobility. This experience reflects a much older reality than national maps, because for most of human history, states had little power to regulate mobility across borders. For many centuries, social and cultural boundaries marked the supremacy of specific groups in particular places, without imposing restrictions on geographical mobility. Pre-modern territorial boundaries resembled island shores or edges of forest clearings more than gated city walls. Boundary and border are, therefore, not the same; nor are they merely political or spatial concepts. To illustrate this I will use examples from the north-east of India and Bangladesh — a region that eludes the perception of most policy makers from Delhi — as well as from Malaysia and Thailand.

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III

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The States of the northeast — Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura, Manipur, Nagaland, Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh — are today States of India and, as such, an official region of a world entirely covered by nations and encompassed by national maps. We have no choice but to locate any region like the north-east inside of national geography, for this both controls our spatial imagination and conveys a specific location, identity and meaning.

However, other perspectives do exist. David Ludden, in his survey of Assam's place in the subcontinent, notes that despite the seemingly universal authority of national geography, the location of social reality is flexible.[6] He writes that instead of accepting the nationalization of everything by political boundaries, we can use geographical history to locate current social realities.

Ludden is right. My own work, *Strange Riches*, iterates this as far as south-east Bengal is concerned.[7] That these north-eastern states

are a part of India today is indisputable; but it is important to note that this fact coexists with others that find different 'locations' for the states of the north-east. If we accept this perspective then we will find that historically these states had no borders with south-east Bengal (today in Bangladesh), China (Yunnan), Chinese Turkestan, Arakan (Myanmar) and Central Myanmar. In other words, the states of the north-east have more in common with northern Southeast Asia than with South Asia itself. Bangladesh has more affinities with the material culture of Tripura and north-eastern India than with West Bengal. This may explain the north-east's affinities with forces outside the ambit of the Indian State. And this may explain the seemingly incomprehensible border practices in these areas, where Bangaldeshis cross over to India (West Bengal) to graze their cattle, where people of Myanmar origin 'poach' in the Namdapha Reserve in Arunachal Pradesh or where Arakanese cross over the Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bangladesh to claim what they feel is rightfully their own. How do we define these practices? Are they acts of aggression or practices of age old customs?

Social practices and material actions in the here and now, therefore, often reveal contradictions in historically determined political realities. They expose, often nakedly, how the nation-state was constructed. Looking at any area's geography in slightly less conventional ways allows for the appearance of a kaleidoscope of social realities. Such an understanding allows for important new frames of reference for scholarship, activism and policy-making.

IV

Ethnicity has been cited as a force that transcends borders. A common ethnic culture, rather than merely race, can and does override political divisions. The notion of the frontier, or *muga* in Basque, plays an important role in Basque consciousness in a number of ways. By dividing the Basque region between two states, the state frontier is the political and administrative reality that formalizes a disunited Basque country or *Euskal Herria* in Basque. For Basque nationalists, it is the ultimate obstacle to their goals of a united Basque country. The word *muga* is used to refer to other boundaries negotiated and agreed upon by the local populations. Before the establishment of the frontier between French and Spanish territory, *muga* was used to refer to the demarcation lines, marked by landmarks or by natural frontiers such as

rivers, that defined the areas in which local inhabitants enjoyed rights to pasture, fishing and hunting. These were also known in Spanish as *facerías*, contracts between neighbouring villages sharing land and various natural resources. One such accepted frontier was formed by the river Bidasoa, long before it was identified in 1659 as part of the state frontier between French and Spanish territory. Many of these still exist today, some of which have remained in effect over five centuries, even across the Franco-Spanish frontier.

These *mugas* have occupied a central role in Basque tradition, featuring in folk tales that recount instances of mutual assistance, reciprocity and negotiation over the use of common land by a local population. In some cases, the inhabitants of Basque villages refused to bear arms in the service of the Spanish or French states, citing their allegiance to ancient territorial entities circumscribed by a locally accepted *muga*. Boundary stones, known as *mugariak*, maintained over generations, have come to form an essential part of the Basque cultural landscape. In Basque folk tales, they are given an important symbolic value. The ambiguous nature of the *muga*, which simultaneously unites and divides the inhabitants of neighbouring areas that are competing for the control of local natural resources, can be seen in the modern border zone of Bidasoa-Txingudi.[8]

But what happens in situations when there is a common culture based on ethnicity but divided by contesting religions? Can there be, in such a situation, shared cultural practices? Yes, because very often folk tales, vernacular literature, common property resources and common historically determined practices, serve to reinforce a shared identity despite contesting religious practices. These are produced and made operative in a shared space, which has little to do with borders and more to do with a common space known as boundary. This shared space is more shaped by nature than politics — what Braudel called the *longue duree*. Political exigencies in this shared space have little relevance for the people who inhabit them. Nature rules here.

This notion of boundary has two attributes. One, it is created by nature and is thus seen as 'natural' as opposed to one created through conquest and expansion. Two, because it is a naturally determined boundary, it is also a shared space between the states through which it runs. This notion was confronted with the European notion of boundary as border in the nineteenth century. In Siam, in 1826, when the British urged the King to fix the limits of Siam with British

Tennasserim after the first Anglo-Ava War between 1824 and 1826, the King replied:[9]

> With respect to what is said about the boundaries, the Country of Mergui, Tavoy and Tenasserim, no boundaries could ever be established between the Siamese and the Burmese. But the English desire to have them fixed. Let them enquire of the old inhabitants residing on the frontiers of Mergui, Tavoy and Tenasserim, what they know respecting the contiguous territories, and let what they point out be the boundaries between the English and Siamese possessions.

The Siamese official in charge of negotiations found nothing strange in this reply as:[10]

> The boundaries between the Siamese and Burmese consisted of a tract of mountains and a forest, which is several miles wide and which could not be said to belong to either nation.

We see, therefore, that an element other than ethnicity is added for determining the boundary. This is a geographical difference. In much of medieval South Asia, natural barriers such as mountains demarcated many such territories in history. Similarly rivers and river valleys delineated the line between two states; and they still continue to do so today as we see between Bengal and Bangladesh (or Manipur and Myanmar) for example. These natural barriers were, therefore, deemed boundaries as opposed to frontiers. Such boundaries existed in other cultures as well; in medieval Europe ditches were dug to create boundaries between villages. While frontiers were created through conquest, these boundaries were both natural and artificial (that is, created by peoples' usage, or by the placement of stones, shrines, etcetera).

David Ludden writes in another essay on the evolution of boundaries (and their transformation into borders) between India (Meghalaya) and Bangladesh (Sylhet). He notes that 'the international boundary between India and Bangladesh came into being in 1947, but some of its segments have much older histories. The oldest segment lies below the mountains of Meghalaya and forms the northern border of the Sunamganj Zila of Bangladesh. This boundary runs east and west, cutting across many short rivers, whose names elude most maps, one being the Dhamalia river, which falls from Pandua, in India, and

empties into the Surma River, near the town of Sunamganj, in Bangladesh. Borderlands of Mughal Bengal had once spanned the basins of the Dhamalia and other parallel rivers draining the mountains into the plains below, but a definite geographical divide emerged in 1790, in the Sylhet district of British Bengal, in the form of a boundary line that served explicitly to restrict and regulate mobility between two political territories, defined as the homelands of two distinct cultures in the mountains and plains, respectively'.[11]

The rationale for inventing this boundary was an early precursor of the 'two nation theory', which eventually informed the partition of British India. At the same time, the birth of this boundary indicates that international borders are not homogenous, despite their appearance on maps as continuous lines. In addition, the local history of this boundary evokes many others in the old borderlands of mountains and plains spanning India's north-east and Bangladesh, where state borders today have meanings quite distinct from the meanings enshrined in international law and in national sentiments. This boundary defined Bengalis and Khasis as peoples with separate histories, homelands and cultural identities, which mingle in the local history of the borderlands. Here, each defines the other, and the memory of Bengali Khasis north of the Surma indicates a distinctive borderland cultural past outside the reach of the national imagination. Thus Bengalis (both in India and Bangladesh) were deemed plains people while the Khasis were considered hill people.

Indeed nature has always played a prime role in determining boundaries. Sahlins (1990) points out in his study of late medieval France how the nation was defined in terms of natural boundaries or limits.[12] Statesmen, diplomats, administrators, military officials, historians and geographers all invoked the idea of natural frontiers as a defining feature of France's geography and history. Enlightenment's thinkers such as Rousseau, and royal geographers such as Phillippe Buache and Buache de la Neuville evoked natural boundaries such as mountains and rivers in their mapping of the French State. Their vision of polities was divided by natural boundaries[13] and thus rivers such as the Meuse or the Rhine separated the Germans from the French, mountains such as the Pyrenees separated the Spanish from the French, the Alps separated the Italians from the French and so on. This found an echo in colonial states. Rabindranath Tagore defined India in physical/geographical terms as composed of units such as

Ganga/Jamuna, Vindhya/Sindhu, etc., in *Jana Gana Mana Adhinayaka*, not all of which correspond now to the twenty-first century borders of the Indian nation-state.

V

Conceptually, a border cannot be understood without reference to its historical other-territory. Indeed borders are seen as adjuncts to the notion of territory; because of course borders cannot exist unless there is a notion, however, ill defined, of territory. Since territory is all about control — spatial, material, political and cultural — in short a space which instruments of the state attempt to manage, monitor and rule, a border expresses the limits of that zone. Therefore, by nature, the border also articulates the limitations of the zone of control.

In early history, borders delineated the zone of containment. In other words territory was central, the border defined its limits. There was a progressive waning of the power of the territory as one moved away from the centre, and a corresponding awareness of other zones of containment, management, monitoring and command, as one moved towards its limits, that is the border. The border, in early history, does not find reference in texts and inscriptions except as the limit of empire. And, as a corollary, as a buffer zone. The idea of territoriality, and of the border as frontier or limit, rules early history. The liminal zone between territory and border was the boundary in pre-modern states.

However, now the meaning of the boundary has been reversed. Boundary is seen as analogous to border. Territorial boundaries — as well as social efforts to define, enforce and reshape them — represent political projects rather than simple facts. The makers and enforcers of boundaries use maps today to define human reality inside of national territory. As a result, everything in the world has acquired a national identity. We see the boundaries of national states so often that they almost appear to be natural features of the globe. This freezing of blocks of space inside nations gained its first legitimacy in 1776 when Adam Smith published *The Wealth of Nations*, with the assumption that every nation's wealth belonged inside its national boundaries and under the control of its national government. The first step, therefore, is to appreciate the political nature of all modern maps which represent the objectification of boundaries.

VI

In the definition of empire in the ancient world, the two features of extensive territorial control and the governance of peoples of a different culture remain valid but to them we can add the further dimension of the relations between the metropolitan state and other areas. Most early societies and civilizations — the Greeks, the Romans, and the Indians — from the Rig Vedic Aryans to Kalhana — used the term frontier and not border to designate the limits of their space.[14] The word 'Gandhara' appeared for the first time as the frontier of the north-west in the Rig Veda; this is one of the earliest notions of the frontier as a geographical area in South Asia.[15] In time this frontier was also regarded as a border; and Taxila was regarded as an outpost of Indian civilization as well as an outpost of the western classical world, that is, a zone of cross-cultural influences.[16]

In early texts only those frontiers deemed as significant for the state were mentioned. Chandragupta Maurya referred to Kambojas (north-east Afghanistan to the south-east of the Hindukush) as the limits of his empire by the terms of the treaty between him and Seleucus Niketor.[17] The country of the Kambojas contained silver mines, these were accessed by the Mauryas for coinage, and the region was thus important for the Mauryas.[18] Therefore, Kamboja as frontier is mentioned in epigraphical records of the Mauryas.

In his inscriptions, Asoka used a term analogous to frontier to describe the limits of his empire, and Buddhaghosa referred to the Kambojas as *Parasika vanna*.[19] Therefore, ethnicity too was seen as the defining element of frontier.

It has been suggested, at least in the Indian context, that the idea of frontier was more distinct in states with a centralized state apparatus; in other words a territorial state. According to ancient cosmology the earth was divided into lands and oceans. There were 'governed' or 'occupied' territories divided by boundaries and called kingdoms and empires. Here the notion of frontiers emerges from that of boundaries. In the *Rajatarangini*, Lalitaditya of Kashmir referred to Cinadesa, Tibet, Bhotia and the country of the Turks as defining the limits of his empire. The idea of territoriality is very distinct here.[20] But the territoriality is defined in terms of race, a frequent practice in early history. We shall return to this notion of people as defining space or territory when we discuss the Greeks.

The *Artha Sastra* contains a distinct idea of territoriality when it talks of absolute sovereignty and the consolidation of the kingdom.[21] In Book 6, Chapter II, the frontier is referred to as a *mandala* or circle, and Book VII, Chapter I, talks clearly about the circle of states or *mandala* where the territorial layout and border plays an important part in policy making. This chapter also refers to emigration and notes that such a situation is adverse to the interests of the original territory. Therefore, there is a distinct notion that people/race make a territory.

The concept of the *mandala*, however, militates against the hypothesis of a strong territorial state in the modern sense. The *mandala* could refer to a feudatory formation. The *mandala* represented a particular and often unstable political situation in a vaguely definable geographical area without fixed boundaries. Here smaller centres tended to look out in all directions for security. *Mandalas* would expand and contract in concertina-like fashion.[22]

In early India, however, the *mandala* and the central territorial state coexisted. This political sphere was mapped by power relationships and not always by territorial integrity. Thapar writes of the early states system in India:[23]

The phrase 'control over territory' remains ambiguous, for such control can be of various kinds. The most direct is conquest...Less direct is the mere capturing of the capital of another state...Further removed from direct control would be a quick campaign and nominal subjugation, or the control over a particular route without necessarily conquering its hinterlands. Territory therefore is only one among the factors defining a state or an empire.

This ideal of a strong state coexisting with a weak state is even more reinforced in Manu where he notes that a king who is fortunate will have his territory adjacent to those of submissive vassals.[24] Here we have the idea of frontier as buffer zone. *Slokas* 155 to 163 of the *Manusmriti* refer to the circle of kingdoms sharing borders; and enumerate how different kingdoms dictate different policies. In early India therefore, a border was seen as ethnic, as cultural, as a buffer zone, or as a zone for containing disputes. Thapar writes again:[25]

In the absence of cartography there can be no boundary lines bilaterally agreed on. Frontiers are at best natural boundaries or else buffer zones...Frontier zones such as pastoral areas, forests, uncultivated uplands helped keep

political boundaries flexible. Attitudes to territory therefore were not uniform and depended on how the state visualized its advantage from the area.

The idea of boundary was frequently mutually beneficial to the peoples on either side. Because this was not a political notion but one related to material practices, mountains, forests, streams and ponds were deemed as common resources. For centuries people crossed over to hunt for mules, camels and elephants and to collect honey, sappan and aloes wood and teak in South Asia. Therefore the signifiers of boundary were not always in a straight line, such as rivers or mountains, they could also be forests, ponds, streams, temples and so on.

VII

The Greek notion was completely different from that of the rest of the classical world, but we find here certain echoes of the Indian world. Here the distinction was between the city and the countryside, because the ancient Greece, as we know from texts, was predominantly an urban civilization. The *chora* was the rural hinterland, as distinct from the city. Territory and community were seen as interchangeable. Themistocles wrote during the Persian invasions that the *polis* would leave Athens if Sparta did not help it. This attitude is similar to that in Book VII, Chapter I of the *Artha Sastra* in which a people are the distinguishable characteristic of a state. For the Greeks, race defined territory; this notion too is similar to that of the Mauryas as regards the Kambojas.

For the Greeks the passage from the private to the public domain was important. This distinction was crucial to a city state. The Greeks stepped into the public domain the moment they left their house.[26] The public domain was first the *polis* and then the *agora* (or the market place) where citizens discussed wars, democracy and the economy — in short the political economy of their time. Citizenship and public/private domain are concepts that play an important part in Greek thought. There was no notion of political borders as such in Greek philosophy, but the notion of boundary as such does permeate the Greek texts.

It was the Romans who developed the concept of frontier the most, because theirs was an expansive and conquest-oriented

civilization. For them frontier was *finis*, and *limes*. The Romans also made a distinction between frontier and border. They used the terms *ora* and *limbus* for border, that is a no man's zone. For them border, therefore, signified passage or transit, while frontier signified the end of territory. For the first time then, we find two clearly articulated and very distinct conceptions of border and frontier in the same culture.

The usages were, however, completely different. The change from *limes* into frontier first appeared in Latin texts as they started to refer to the Iberian frontier between Christendom and Islam. Between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries we find medieval jurists in Castile in Spain developing the notion of the frontier further. There were, however, many perceptions of frontier: as line of control, as an unorganized area in the Turnerian sense of the frontier, or as an area belonging to none. Therefore, by extension, an area belonging to none could be deemed to belong to all.[27]

VIII

It is in medieval Spain that we first find the Latin idea of the frontier undergoing a change. This change was influenced by the Iberian encounter with Islam. Islam was moving in on Spain from North Africa from the eighth century. Islam in Europe and Asia did not accept the notion of boundary. The Arabic term for frontier (loosely translated as *tagr* in medieval Spain, or *taghira*) was a zone of contact rather than a zone of demarcation. The term *tagr* was never employed for designating a boundary; the *tagr* was fluid and expansive.[28] Since it was subject to ideological impulses emanating from an authority outside the state boundaries, it was constantly changeable. There developed therefore two notions of frontier within Europe, dependent on contesting traditions, one as containment against hostile forces (Latin), the other as expansion over hostile elements (Arabic). Defence and conquest became the two signifiers of these two notions of frontier.

The Latin idea of frontier as a zone of demarcation hardened further in the crusading states between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The crusader states of Antioch, Jerusalem and Acre, and the countries of Tripoli and Edessa were constantly menaced by Islamic attacks on their strongholds. Armies of the Saracens, Mamluks, Mongols, Turks and Byzantians attacked the new states. The medieval chronicler, Fulcher of Chartres, wrote of the war of nerves experienced

by the crusading settlers: 'if they are poor men — they are captured or killed by the Ethiopians — on this side the Babylonian (Egyptians) suddenly attack them by land and sea; on the north the Turks take them by surprise…' The constant changeability of this landscape is portrayed remarkably well indeed in the film *Kingdom Of Heaven*. The term frontier now took on a new meaning in this truly Turnerian landscape where religion, commerce and politics created a new social order. So, for historical reasons, the notion of the frontier became more important for the Latins.

In the rest of medieval Europe, neither 'frontier' nor 'border' was used; they used the term 'boundary' instead. Ditches demarcated the zone of the village from another[29], the moat determined the real extent of the manor from the village or town and the wall determined the limits of the townships of the Middle Ages.

These varying notions of frontier underwent a change when a European states system developed in the sixteenth century. Jurists and humanists debated the idea of natural law in states. Hugo Grotius or Hugo de Groot (1583-1645), the father of the international states system, developed a concept of international law at this time. The idea of a no man's land — a natural vacuum — was a natural corollary of his argument. Grotius distinguished between primary laws of nature and secondary laws of nature. Primary laws of nature were laws that expressed completely the will of God. Secondary laws of nature, on the other hand, were rules and laws that lay within reason, that is those created and applied by Man. This rule was used by early modern Europe to justify colonization of the New World, but the new interpretation was that nature abhorred a vacuum and that the strongest and the mightiest had, therefore, a god-given right to conquer such lands. When Americans expanded into the west of the American continent the new frontier meant neither a political boundary nor a political or cultural divide. In the Turnerian sense — for Turner developed this idea — the expanding American frontier is a relatively under-developed, thinly populated outlying zone. It is a marginal region into which an advanced civilization introduced colonists as permanent settlers. Significant colonization is of the essence in this process and abundant and readily obtainable land its indispensable accompaniment. The Turnerian frontier is an expanding one, and a safety valve for the settler state. The Turner thesis finds resonance in the notion of *lebensraum* and in Middle Eastern politics today.

The idea of the frontier, therefore, has taken on a new dimension with the revival of the Turner thesis of the frontier. In history, as now, Christianity was an indispensable tool in this process of conquest. It is remarkable that the Renaissance humanists, who were committed to the celebration of the dignity of Man, supported this radically ruthless colonization. The only dissenters were Thomas More and Bartolome de Las Casas, who debated the rights of the colonized, but these lone voices were largely ignored and the modern notions of frontier and border date from this time.

By the time the Peace of Westphalia was signed in Europe in 1648 the new notion of the border was firmly established in Europe. Grotius, who died near the end of the Thirty Years' War in Europe, was the first to bring together the various elements of international law and to include them in one text, the *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*, in 1625. This treatise influenced the settlement of the Thirty Years' War, the Peace of Westphalia, which determined that not only were Princes to be recognized as sovereigns, but that geographic units — states — were to be understood as being holders of territorial sovereignty. Grotius thus laid the foundations for the state system which remains to this day. Borders were erased, frontiers appeared with the nation-state. When the British attempted to demarcate boundaries between Kedah and Wellesley Province in 1829, they introduced the element of confrontation between different concepts of political space.[30] We may say that the Roman notion of frontier was revived. This became paramount after the seventeenth century, and still continues today.

IX

We find today, especially in post-colonial states, a terminological conflict between pre-modern notions of boundary and that of the frontier. Today the term boundary is taken to be a term generally understood. However, as we saw at the beginning of this essay, boundaries and borders have various nuances that are shaped historically and according to cultural and material exigencies.

We noted before that boundaries in pre-modern formations were not necessarily determined or sanctioned by the state authority; they were determined by peoples through centuries of usage. The material practices that evolved thereby still continue to challenge the modern Westphalian notion of boundary. In pre-modern times if two

countries had hostile relations, often a corridor border ran outside the boundary lines of the two hostile states. In other words, the hostile border was between the two boundaries of authority. There was, therefore, more than one kind of geopolitical extremity. One was the boundary of sovereign authority which was, geographically speaking, well inside the border. The other was the border beyond the limit of sovereign authority and without boundary. Sovereignty and border were not coterminous.

In modern usage, however, the border or frontier is a zone which lies along each side of the boundary or interfaces a neighbouring country;so the order was inverted and the boundary was sandwiched between two sides of borders. The boundary thus became a straight line.

<p style="text-align:center">X</p>

Talking about borders, the first step is to appreciate the political nature of all modern maps which demarcate borders between national units. We saw that modern borders, or territorial boundaries — as well as social efforts to define, enforce and reshape them — represent political projects rather than simple facts. The makers and enforcers of boundaries use maps today to define human reality inside of a national territory. As a result, everything in the world has acquired a national identity. We see the boundaries of national-states so often that they almost appear to be natural features of the globe.

This virtual reality came into being only in the nineteenth century, as various technologies for surveying the earth, mass printing, mass education and other innovations began to make viewing standardized maps a common experience. Making maps, reading maps, talking about maps, and thinking with mental maps became increasingly common with each passing decade. By the 1950s, people around the world had substantial map-knowledge in common. During the global expansion of modern mapping, national territory suddenly incorporated all of the earth's geography. Though national boundaries only covered the entire globe after 1950, within a decade or two all histories of all peoples in the world came to appear inside national maps, in a cookie-cutter world of national geography. This has been the most comprehensive organization of spatial experience in human history. Spaces that elude national maps have now mostly disappeared from intellectual life.

Maps attain their form and authoritative interpretation from both the political economy and the cultural politics of mapping; the most influential people in these processes work in national institutions, including universities. State-authorized mapping is now so common that most governments do not regulate map-making, but almost everyone draws official lines on maps by habit anyway. How often do we question the Government of India maps? Indeed, this dynamic is so pervasive that few people ever even think about it; yet it has covered the planet with the nation-state's territorial authority. As a result, we are now accustomed to seeing maps that nationalize topography by erasing spaces on the edge of a nation's identity. In India, this includes several major spaces near the Northeast — areas in Nepal, Bhutan and Bangladesh — which have become mostly blank spaces in the country's national view of South Asia. Every day in the media, TV and newspapers weather maps nationalize rainfall, wind and the seasons, by enclosing them inside national boundaries. This seemingly innocent nationalization of nature makes it increasingly difficult to visualize any world not defined by national boundaries.

Borders, it is thus clear, are not just political categories, they are also cultural categories. Who is inside the border can change according to exigencies. A border patrol in a country is also used to combat threats within it, for example flushing out counterinsurgency. Here the term border signifies the distinction between territorial identity — Indianness versus 'otherness' for example — rather than the geographical definition. Subversive elements within the territory are equated with the external threat. National territory affects cultural politics, both inside and across national boundaries. Human identity everywhere is attached to national sites; in those places, some people are always 'native', while others are always 'foreign'.

Thus the border patrol is the force to safeguard the border of territory against the enemy, who are definitely outside such a border, no matter where they really locate. By such a notion of border the 'external' may not be really external; the internal can be made alien or external as well.

XI

We thus move from the idea of territories and borders to that of nationhood, which is what this meeting is really all about. The

identification ascribed to nationhood does not always represent all the intrinsic qualities of it. The definition and the domain of nationhood are not given; they are constructed, carved, inscribed and fabricated. Nor is its unity given, because just as the identity of nationhood is formed by a particular set of discourses, so too are there other discourses which exist in marginal areas, which can emerge in time to challenge and destabilize the dominant discourse.

The identification of what is a nation is cultural and it represents what it creates. But how do people themselves regard the nation? Here I will introduce the term geo-body as used by Thongchai. A geo-body is the most concrete identification of a nation, such as not only its territory, but its related values and practices. It includes boundary, territorial sovereignty and margins. Its meaning overrides the physical territoriality of a nation and there are numerous concepts, practices and institutions related to it or working within the provision and limitation of a nation's geo-body: the concept of integrity and sovereignty; border control, armed conflict, invasions and wars; the territorial definition of national economy, products, industries, trade, taxes, education, administration, culture, etc. The geo-body of a nation is far stronger than many of us are prepared to realize.

And how is the geo-body of the nation represented? It is often represented as female as in *Bharat Mata* in the case of India or Marianne in the case of France. This has been called the bodyscape of the nation.[31] The bodyscape of a nation is the ultimate embodiment of all cultural practices associated with it.

Yet, despite the concreteness of the idea of a geo-body, there have been few studies on the history of a national territory. How did territories come to be created? Just through wars and conquest? Most studies concern themselves with disputes over territories and border demarcations. Such studies always presuppose the existence of territoriality of a nation in modern form, but ignore how the nation was constructed. What we thus have is a political-technical history and only political exigencies are seen as prime movers in the alteration of the notion of borders. An enquiry into the history of cartography — and how it put the nation on the map — will be useful here.

XII

Looking at any wall map or atlas, we see a world composed of states. The earth's surface is divided into territorial units; each is

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demarcated by a linear boundary dividing one sovereignty from the next. This is the international border. Our world is a jigsaw of territorial states and we take this picture for granted. How strange it is that the whole of human experience is moulded inside cartographic units that we call nations.

Earlier on, in this article, we talked of the power of representation and the force of the map. It has been remarked that maps serve to 'reinforce and legitimize the status quo'.[32] This is true. Cartography played a vital role in the creation of the new territorial state by depicting the state as a homogeneous body. This homogeneous space of the map became the basis of all political authority and cartography became an instrument of rule in sixteenth century Europe. As map-making gained momentum in seventeenth century Europe after the Peace of Westphalia, the modern territorial state was reconstituted from older dynastic realms in Europe. The term 'frontier' (initially used to describe the front line of troops in battle) now became a term to describe the limits of the state. The border now had a new connotation: the glacis of the state's space. This view informed cartographic practices in South Asia as well, from the end of the eighteenth century, and more so in the nineteenth century when most of the nation was mapped.

It was, however, not so easy to depict boundaries. From the eighteenth century Europeans were obsessed with making boundaries congruent with the cartographic ideal: the aim of each state was to purge itself of foreign enclaves. Each ruler also sought to 'close off the state' as far as possible. Both European diplomats and cartographers preoccupied themselves with delineating and representing boundaries on ground and in space. Unfortunately in India, which still depends on colonial cartography, as is visible in the Government of India maps, this is a process that has only been started now . In present cartography on South Asia, the linear boundary between nations that we see today conceals the distinctions between boundary, border and frontier. If we revise our cartographic strategies, the nation-states in this region may have quite different contours. We have now a tendency to project our image of the solid, impregnable territorial state back into the past, but as this essay shows this was not always a reality. We should do well to remember this when we talk of borders today.

End Notes

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The Constitution, Governance and Democratic Decentralization

22

The Soul of Governance in India

Jagmohan

Non-realization of the importance of 'soul-force'[1] in determining the character of governance has cost post-independence India dearly. It is primarily due to this non-realization that the country, despite its sound constitutional and administrative structure, has been sinking deeper and deeper into the quagmire of corruption and inefficiency. The experience of the last 58 years should leave no one in doubt that it is futile to expect positive results from a set-up which has no inner animation or spark.

There is a certain melody of life which lives only in our minds and souls. Without this melody, a stirring and elevating music of life or society or governance cannot be composed. Soul is the inner controller, a base from which all our inner urges spring. It determines the trajectory of our thoughts and action.

I have seen public administration from different pedestals and from different angles. I have experienced its different strands, traversed many of its uncharted paths and passed through quite a few of its cold deserts and its pastures green. I have tried all the tools and techniques of modern administration, experimented with ideas that have brought about a managerial revolution in some advanced countries, explored practically all the avenues that lead to efficiency and effectiveness in work. But all along, I have felt, and felt acutely, that there has been a grave national omission in attending to our fundamentals. And these fundamentals pertain to an invisible, all pervasive, soul which provides colour and character to our conscience and commitment and settles our outlook and attitude. Without a healthy soul, all our institutions, all our laws and the Constitution, all our administrative organizations and all

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[1] This write-up is based on the author's detailed presentation on his latest publication—*The Soul and Structure of Governance in India.*

our judicial and legislative bodies are bound to be rendered frigid and fragile.

Governance is not the exclusive preserve of the government. It extends to other realms also, such as civil society and the private sector. It encompasses, in essence, every institution and organization, from the family to the state. It involves exercise of political, economic and administrative authority to manage the affairs of the nation. It denotes a 'steering' and 'rowing' capacity of a social system as a whole.

The ideal governance machinery, in my view, is the one which harmonizes the political, economic, cultural, intellectual and spiritual capacities of a nation and directs the beam of those harmonized capacities on the need for solving its problems and attaining the ultimate goal of creating a humane, enlightened and progressive order by humane, enlightened and progressive means.

The health or otherwise of the soul of a nation has a pivotal bearing on the functioning of its social system and machinery of governance. If, for example, we subject the history of ancient and medieval India to close examination, we would find that if there is nobility in the soul and the motivation is pure and the idealism high, the structure, even if it be not perfect, can lead to a life of honour, peace and prosperity; if, on the other hand, the soul is infected by narrowness, selfishness and intrigue, then the same structure undermines individual and social security, gives rise to venality and corruption and results in loss of human dignity and freedom.

The much acclaimed steel-frame of British governance in India was no exception. It performed remarkably well as long its soul was infused with a sense of justice. But when narrow considerations of 'divide and rule' crept in and pernicious principles, such as communal representations in public services, were introduced, the same steel frame assumed the form of a moth-eaten bamboo structure. That is why the last years of British governance in India were tragically inglorious. These were the years of blunders, miscalculations and lapses of truly historic proportions. The political and administrative governors of the time, by their acts of commissions and omissions, created chaos, confusion and human tragedies which have few parallels in the annals of mankind. The public services themselves added to the fury and fire of the time. The governance machinery with a polluted soul acted as an instrument of disorder rather than of order and made the miserable even more miserable.

What has happened in the post-independence period? What character has been assumed by the soul of governance in this period? I would examine this issue by splitting the period in two parts — (i) period from 1950-91; and (ii) period from 1991 onwards.

<div align="center">I</div>

Pre-1991 Period

In the early fifties, Jawaharlal Nehru had declared: 'We would build a mighty India—mighty in thought, mighty in deeds, mighty in culture, and mighty in service to humanity.' Tragically, by 1991, India had virtually become a state which had lost its moorings. It resembled an old-model ship on a rough sea, being buffeted by turbulent waves, sometimes in one direction, sometimes in another. It was on the verge of a catastrophe. Its politics were shabby and shallow, its administration soft and superficial, its society fractured and fragmented and its economy woolly and wayward. Its intellect had practically lost all strands of originality, its cultural stream was getting muddier by the day. It did not know how to deal with the rising menace of terrorism. Punjab, Kashmir and the Northeast were engulfed in bloody turmoil. All over the states, the Police was in disarray. The Courts had accumulated a pendency of more than two crore cases. Justice, be it civil or criminal, social or economic, was losing sight of its fundamentals. The Union Government did not seem to possess either political cohesion or the will to deal with the plethora of problems that stared in its face. Its finances were in shambles. It had hardly any foreign exchange to fulfil its loan repayment obligation or to import items necessary for its economic survival.

A set of comparative statistics speaks for itself and reveals the somewhat hidden reality of the period. In 1950-51, India's share of the World's Gross National Product was two per cent; in 1990-91, it came down to less than one per cent. In 1950-51, 12 per cent of the Third World's Gross National Product was contributed by India; by 1990-91, the corresponding contribution came down to five per cent. The position in respect of industrial production was no different. In 1950-51, India's industrial production comprised two per cent of the world's total output; in 1990-91, it stood at about 0.7 per cent. In 1950-51, 14 per cent of the Third World's industrial production came from India; by

1990-91, it had declined to about four per cent. In line with the downward trends, India's share in world foreign trade diminished from about two per cent in 1950-51 to 0.6 per cent in 1990-91.

The above data should not leave anybody in doubt that India's pace of 'economic development' in the first four decades had been slower not only in comparison with the world in general but also in comparison with quite a few developing countries. Three areas in which India had moved faster than most of the countries, during 1950-51 to 1990-91, were population, indebtedness and corruption. By 1990-91, notwithstanding the huge expenditure incurred on family planning, her population had increased to 975 million. She became the fourth largest indebted country amongst the developing countries. There was explosion of scandals like 'Bofors', 'Submarine' and 'Sugar'. She was listed amongst the ten most corrupt nations in the world.

In these circumstances, the breakdown was only a matter of time. And it came in 1991. Only $1.1 billion was left as reserves. It could hardly meet the requirements of import bills of 15 days. The crisis forced the Reserve Bank of India to take the unprecedented step of depositing a part of the nation's gold stock in the Bank of England.

Clearly, by 1991, India had become a vast tract of 'waste land' out of whose 'stony rubbish' nothing but desertification could ensue. Could this desertification be arrested by the seeds of liberalization and marketization that began to be thrown about in 1991? Could the winds of globalization that began to surge around, change either the soil or the climate of India?

II

Post-1991 Period

If we do a detailed analysis of the working of each major component of the governance machinery — the Executive, Parliament, Judiciary, Public and Private Institutions, etc. — in the post-economic reforms period, we would find the answer to the above questions to be in the negative. The reforms have largely proved illusory. In fact, to call the post-1991 period a period of reforms is proof only of superficiality of approach to the grim and grave problems facing the country.

The reforms have not created any new spark in the nation or made our public life more clean and honest or strengthened any of the fundamental planks of the governance machinery. Take, for example, the institution of bureaucracy. The decline in its attitude and output has been a common feature of both pre-1991 and post-1991 periods. Consequently, we have today the following four categories of officers:

i.   Officers who have brains as well as backbone;

ii. Officers who have brains but no backbone;

iii Officers who have backbone but no brains; and

iv   Officers who have neither brains nor backbone.

The first category of officers, that is, those who have the courage of conviction and also intelligence to argue their viewpoint, is a rarity these days. They start asserting themselves in the early phase of their career. They support the Ministers wholeheartedly when they are right but oppose them when they are wrong. They also put their heart and soul in work. Unfortunately, most officers, even of this category, undergo experiences which embitter them, and they soon realize the futility of their conscientious stand and earnest work. They carry on, adjusting themselves to the circumstances in the best manner they can. If they are fortunate, they come into contact with the few well-meaning political executives who are still around and who have the inclination and good sense to reward merit and encourage dispassionate advice and constructive work.

It is the second category of officers who generally aid and abet the wrong doings of Ministers. They, using their intelligence and knowledge, informally advise the ministers how to circumvent rules and procedures and make wrong things look right. It is they who usually secure plum postings and wield, under unhealthy political patronage, power much beyond their status. Sometimes, however, they come to grief and even go to jail along with political god-fathers, as has happened to about half a dozen senior IAS officers of Bihar as a result of the fodder scam.

Officers of the third category are usually the ones who are stolid and stubborn. Since they have little intelligence, they generally pick up the wrong end of the stick and in their attempt to be firm, persist with their stand, howsoever negative and harsh it may be. It is their behaviour which the public in general and politicians in particular have in view when they label the bureaucracy as obstructive, insensitive and wooden-headed.

There is hardly any distinct impact of the fourth category of officers. They are non-entities of the system. Being weaklings, they are vulnerable to exploitation by senior officers as well as by politicians.

Clearly, the civil services in India have lost their elan, their *esprit de corps*. They have been fragmented and fractured.

Indisputably, in many respects, we are better placed than we were at the dawn of independence. The average life expectancy of the people has increased substantially. The country has been largely free from famines, the recurrence of which was its fate earlier. The recent achievements in the arena of nuclear, space, telecommunication and information technologies have their own sagas. There has also been a significant diversification of production. The industrial and service sectors have witnessed a rapid expansion. From about eight per cent in 1950-51, the index of industrial production rose to about 155 in 1999-2000. The net national product attained a level in 1999-2000, which was 2.75 times higher than the level of 1950-51. The position of India with regard to foreign exchange reserves has improved dramatically and its general rate of economic growth has been impressive.

However, even today India has the largest number of the poor, largest number of illiterates, largest number of malnourished people in the world. The mid-term appraisal of the Tenth Five Year Plan shows that India is off-track in achieving the United Nations Millennium Goal of reducing the incidence of hunger by half by 2015. There has been a dramatic decline in per capita availability of cereals — from 468 gm in 1991 to 428 gm in 1999. Likewise, per capita availability has come down from 41 gm in 1991 to 31 gm in 1999.

The general economy of the country, which these days is being adumbrated as the fastest growing economy in the world, is not without wide and deep holes in its canvas. About Rs. 1,00,000 crore are being added every year to the liabilities of government. The debt burden of the government now is about Rs. 15,00,000 crore. In other words, every Indian is indebted to the extent of Rs. 15,000. What is equally disconcerting is that while public debt has been increasing, the percentage of the development expenditure on social services of the total government expenditure has been declining. In 1980-81, this percentage was about 57. By the year 2000-2001, it had come down to about 37.

The data in respect of employment generation also show an uncomfortable position: 'Against the growth rate of job-seekers of 2.3

per cent per annum, the rate of job creation has dropped from 2.1 per cent in the 1980s to a mere 0.8 per cent in the 1990s. So far as the private sector is concerned, while jobs grew at the rate of 3.1 per cent per annum in the years from 1994 to 1997, the rate of job growth has fallen to a miserable 0.11 per cent in 2000-2001. Since the public sector is now creating fewer jobs, it is hardly surprising that the rate of job creation in the last three years has been below 0.5 per cent per annum.'

The post-1991 period has also seen an alarming increase in terrorism, subversion, Naxal violence and illegal infiltration from Bangladesh. From 1994-2005, 19, 662 civilians, 7,320 security personnel and 20,955 militants have been killed in India. The scale of violence can be seen from the fact that in Kashmir alone, about 30,000 Kalashnikovs, about 60,000 grenades and huge quantities of RDX have been recovered. Not a day passes when a terrorism-related incident does not take place in the country.

The triple terrorist attack in Delhi on 29 October 2005, which butchered 62 innocent persons, including women and children, speaks volumes not only about the savage nature of terrorists but also of the long reach that they have acquired. Earlier, the extent of their penetration was dramatically brought to surface in their attack on the Indian Parliament on 13 December 2001 — an attack which could have wiped out at one stroke a major component of our national leadership.

Already, about 40 per cent of the geographical area of India, involving about 200 districts in 13 states is in the grip of terrorism, and a new corridor of Naxal violence, from Nepal to Andhra Pradesh, is emerging on the scene. The external forces inimical to India are joining hands with the subversive elements within the country and are creating a serious situation. India is being virtually encircled by way of a network of terrorist camps that are being set up by the ISI in Bangladesh, Myanmar, Bhutan, Nepal, Dubai and even in Hong Kong and Thailand. There has been a huge illegal influx of Bangladeshi migrants to India, particularly to Tripura and the borders of the districts of West Bengal and Assam. Even conservative estimates suggest that the number of these migrants is not less than 1.5 crore.

The attack of the Naxalites on Jahanabad jail, on 13 November 2005, which resulted in freeing of all the 341 prisoners, killing of 13 persons and abduction of about 40 members of their opponents, namely, Ranvir Sena, show the direction in which the wind is blowing.

It reminds me of the lines penned by the famous English poet, W B Yeats:

Things fall apart, the centre cannot hold

Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world

The blood dimmed tide is loosed, and everywhere

The ceremony of innocence is drowned;

The best lack all conviction, while the worst

Are full of passionate intensity.

Why has this depressing scenario emerged? Why have the reforms proved hollow? How is it that the dark spots on the Indian horizon have been multiplying both during pre-1991 and post-1991 periods? Why have these periods experienced virtually common failures?

A fundamental failure of post-1947 India has been its inability to evoke the soul-force and rekindle the power and profundity of her mind and use it as a propelling force for fashioning out a new design of life, a new set of polity and a new form of governance. She has remained without a great inspiration, without an elevating ideology or philosophy, which should have served as a guiding star for her activities in various walks of life. For a short while, her leadership, at the dawn of independence, spoke of the opportunity which the 'long suppressed soul of India' got to express itself; but, later on, forgot all about it. India's mind leaned heavily towards imitation. She started following first the prescription given by the 'welfare economists' of the West and then the one written for her by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

Consequently, India today is a pale shadow of what it could have been. Instead of reconstructing the power of her mind, recreating her own life-nurturing functions, delving deep into her ancient nobility of temper and refining her elevating ideals and concepts, evolved after years of contemplation, she began to be led by the crass materialism of others and follow the notions which were coined elsewhere in different sets of circumstances and in different social and cultural milieu.

In my book, *The Soul and Structure of Governance in India*, the evidence about the power and profundity which the Indian mind once possessed has been presented in three parts. In the first part have been cited the views of eminent scholars and historians like Friedrich Max

Mueller, Will Durant, Voltaire, Paul Deussen, Arthur Schopenhaauer, Michelet, and Friedrich von Shlegel. In the second part have been given some of the illuminating products of the Indian mind, viz, (i) the idea of the Universe being an organic cosmic web permeated with cosmic force; (ii) views on Creation; (iii) understanding of ecological balance and sustainable development; and (iv) the Message of the Gita and the concept of *Karma Yogi*. The third part contains a few concrete manifestations, such as Saraswati-Indus Valley Civilization; inventions and discoveries; cultural penetration in Southeast Asia; and thought processes of Buddhism and Jainism and other schools of thought.

Attention has also been invited to about 1000 years of desertification of the Indian mind and the subsequent attempt to reclaim and fertilize it by a galaxy of reformers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It has also been shown how the civilizational base of the freedom movement was punctured and partition brought about.

It has been argued that had the post-1947 leadership seen the events of 5000 years through the spectacles of history and understood the importance of drawing appropriate lessons from it, it would have formulated a grand strategy for the future, keeping the following four facts in view:

First, for centuries India had a powerful and profound 'mind' which was reflected in its unique thoughts and deeds, and this power should be rekindled to facilitate the acquisition of new insights and develop new ideas and originality of approach.

Secondly, the 'mind', referred to above, had suffered from about 1000 years of desertification, the causes of and lessons from which should be studied in depth with a view to educating the people about their social, political, moral and organizational weaknesses and ensuring that no such misfortune befalls India again.

Thirdly, the forces of reform and regeneration, which were set in motion by the nineteenth and twentieth century reformers who had been able to recapture the power, profundity and purity of the Indian mind, should be strengthened and given a sharper edge and spread over a larger canvas.

Fourthly, the civilizational and cultural base of the nation should be strengthened and evil forces like those which caused partition should be spotted at the earliest and given a fight to nip them in the bud.

However, nothing of the sort happened. The leadership turned a blind eye to the deeper currents of our long history and its ecastasies and agonies, its triumphs and tragedies. It made no attempt to pick up gems from its vast tray, polish them and use them as valuable assets. Nor did it throw out the rubbish from the same tray.

Great moments in history call for great visions to turn them into springboards for jumping into the future with new creativity, new capacity, new commitment, new courage and new confidence. For producing that vision and for acquiring that creativity, capacity, commitment, courage and confidence, rekindling of the power of the Indian mind was an essential prerequisite. Unfortunately, no step was taken in this direction by the leadership of post-1947 India. The nation has paid a heavy price for this historic lapse. It has added a mountain of new problems to the old and chronic ones. The paramount need of the hour is to undo the lapse and make good the deficiency of the past 58 years.

A fresh beginning needs to be made and a comprehensive blueprint for fundamental reforms drawn up. This blueprint must usher in a strong ethical state, resting upon three strong foundational planks of a rekindled mind, a reawakened soul, and a set of redesigned and revitalized institutions.

In the aforesaid book, *The Soul and Structure of Governance in India*, I have spelt out in detail fourteen specific features of the New Design and also suggested six items of reforms that deal with mind and soul. These fourteen features envisage:

i.   Building leadership at key levels of governance, in which elements of power, nobility and responsibility are synthesized.

ii. Establishing new units of management and development.

iii. Evolving special institutional arrangements to implement six items of reforms pertaining to mind and soul.

iv. Civil Service reforms.

v.   Reform of new bureaucracy: Regulators.

vi. Police reforms.

vii. Judicial reforms.

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viii. Electoral and parliamentary reforms.

ix. Local governance reforms — Panchayats.

x. Municipal governance reforms.

xi. Upgrading corporate governance — public sector as well as private sector.

xii. Introducing e-Governance.

xiii. Combating corruption.

xiv. Improving relations between the media and governance machinery.

In so far as reforms pertaining to mind and soul are concerned, the following six specific items have been suggested:

i. Improving the basic timbre, that is, We, the people.

ii. According recognition to the power, profundity and purity of the mind that India once possessed.

iii. Picking up the threads of the reform movements of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century.

iv. Ensuring simultaneity of reforms of all major components of the system.

v. Waging a relentless fight against the evils that have seeped deep into India's social system.

vi. Providing the people with a moral compass by incorporating the principles of the Vedanta in the Constitution of India.

Out of these, I would take up here only one item (vi), viz., creation of a constitutionally backed system of ethics or a sort of constitutional religion, which could serve the nation as a source of inspiration and keep the machinery of governance in the right orbit. Such a constitutional religion or system of ethics could be fashioned out of the interpretation drawn by Swami Vivekananda and Gandhi of religion being a way of life which is oriented towards service to man.

To make my point clear in this respect, I would invite attention first to what transpired between Mahatma Gandhi and Dr S Radhakrishnan on the subject of religion, and then what Swami Vivekananda had been saying on it.

S Radhakrishnan, in connection with his study of religion, posed three questions to Gandhi. These questions were: 'What is your religion? How are you led to it? What is its bearing on social life?'

Gandhi replied to the first question thus:'My religion is Hinduism which, for me, is the religion of humanity and includes the best of all religions known to me.'

In response to the second question, Gandhi said: 'I take it that the present tense in this question has been purposely used, instead of the past. I am led to my religion through truth and non-violence. I often describe my religion as religion of truth. Of late, instead of saying God is Truth, I have been saying, Truth is God... Denial of Truth we have not known... We are all sparks of Truth. The sum total of these sparks is indescribable, as yet unknown Truth, which is God. I am daily led nearer to it by constant prayer.'

To the third question, Gandhi replied: 'The bearing of this religion on social life is, or has to be, seen in one's daily social contact. To be true to such religion, one has to lose oneself in continuous and continuing service of all in life. Realization of Truth is impossible without a complete merging of oneself in and identification with this limitless ocean of life. Hence, for me there is no escape from social service: there is no happiness on earth beyond or apart from it. Social service here must be taken to include every department of life. In this scheme, there is nothing low, nothing high. For all is one, though we seem to be many.'

Gandhi went on to elaborate: 'The deeper I study Hinduism, the stronger becomes the belief in me that Hinduism is as broad as the universe... Something within me tells me that, for all the deep veneration I show to several religions, I am all the more a Hindu, nonetheless for it.'

Vivekananda's views are on the same wavelength as Gandhi's. For him 'Jiva is Shiva' — service to man is service to God. The cornerstone of his ideal of 'practical Vedanta' is: if one serves the sick, the poor or any other person in distress one offers prayers to God in the highest form. In his own inimitable style, he has said: 'May I be born again and again, and suffer thousand miseries, so that I may worship the only God I know that exists, the only God I believe in, the sum total of all souls, and above all, my God the wicked, my God the miserable, my God the poor of all races, of all species.'

What objections could be taken to the above views of Gandhi and Vivekananda? In what way are they irreconcilable with the ideal of

secularism? Why could they not be accommodated in our Constitution in the form of an ethical system and made one of the constitutional goals for the attainment of which the state, the society and the individual should specifically strive? Both Gandhi and Vivekananda base religion on the highest principles of ethics and elevate it to a moral force which could provide an impulse, an animation, for service to the poor, the sick and the needy, and have the effect of creating a compassionate man, 'a gentleness of the mature of mind and a pacifying and unifying love for all living things'.

Practical Vedanta, if its propagation has the backing of the State, would certainly help in orienting the mind of the individual towards service, compassion, non-acquisitiveness and realization that he is a part of the Greater Self and he should not do anything which has the effect of injuring a part of his own self. In other words, Practical Vedanta would help in creating a purer and nobler heart which, working in unison with other purer and nobler hearts, would give rise to a force which would push society and the state towards purer and nobler goals. It has been rightly observed: 'If there is no purity, fairness and justice in your heart, these qualities will not be in your home; and if they are not in your home, they will not be in your society; and if they are not in your society, they will not be in your state.' All said and done, it is basically the individual who constitutes the building block of a nation.

Further, the principles on which Practical Vedanta rests are in perfect harmony with the constitutional goals of liberty, fraternity, equality and justice. In fact, they would provide spiritual underpinning to these goals. As regards the goal of equality, for example, if the same divinity permeates the personality of one person as well as that of another, they cannot but be equal. Likewise, it would be unthinkable for divinity in one person to starve the same divinity in another person or do injustice to it in any other manner.

Practical Vedanta also accords with the scientific spirit of our times. It promotes rationality, generates self-confidence and frowns upon fatalism: 'The old religion said that he was an atheist who does not believe in God. The new religion says that an atheist is the one who does not believe in himself. It is the coward and the fool who says this is his fate. But it is the strong man who stands up and says, I will make my own fate.'

Practical Vedanta, it may be noted, is not in any way antithetical to the ideal of secularism as incorporated in the Indian Constitution. Though associated with a particular religion, Practical Vedanta is nothing but spiritual secularism as well as spiritual pluralism. In his speech delivered to the Parliament of Religions, Chicago, Swami Vivekananda made it clear that Vedantists consider all religions to be true. In view of this and the Vedantic belief of One in All and All in One, the incorporation of Practical Vedanta in our constitution should not cause any misgivings in the minds of followers of other religions.

Rabindranath Tagore has repeatedly drawn our attention to the ideal which the illuminated consciousness of our sages has bequeathed us: Brahma is Truth; Brahma is Wisdom; Brahma is Infinite; and peace is in Brahma; Goodness is in Brahma; and Unity of all beings is in Brahma. And this ideal of unity of all beings, of peace, goodness and wisdom finds expression in a simple but telling prayer to the Absolute: 'He who is one, who is above all distinctions, who dispenses the inherent needs of men of all colours, who comprehends all things from their beginning to the end, let Him unite us to one another with wisdom, which is the wisdom of goodness.' Such an ideal or such a prayer can by no stretch of imagination be considered as antithetical to any of our constitutional objectives. On the other hand, its inclusion in the Constitution would provide substance and strength to these objectives. Clearly, it would inculcate a belief in the fundamental unity — unity in the diversity of man, unity in the diversity of nature, unity in the diversity of religion, and also unity of the individual self with the universal self and of every single soul with what Ralph Waldo Emerson called over-soul. It would promote gentleness of spirit, nobility of temper and search for peace and balance in life. An overall culture of contentment and compassion would be generated in the society, which would have the effect of weakening, if not killing, the individual's disposition to be acquisitive and corrupt.

The ideal, the attributes of which I have briefly delineated above, is an insightful understanding of life, nature and the cosmic spirit which pervades the entire universe; it is not a religious precept. Its incorporation in the Indian Constitution, either in the form of an ethical code or a sort of constitutional religion, would do no violence to the concept of secularism. Instead, it would prop up true secularism, true morality and true commitment to the betterment of human conditions

not only in India but also in the rest of the world and one would begin to see, as William Blake saw, divine body in the face of every man, or feel, as Walt Whitman did in his *Song of the Open Road*:

The East and West are mine,

And the North and South are mine;

I am larger, better than I thought

In the faces of men and women

I see God, and In my own face in the glass

In view of what I have elaborated above, India should be constitutionally declared as a Vedantist State. If some sections have reservations about the expression Vedantist, it could be replaced by the word Ethical.

When we call Mahatma Gandhi the Father of the Nation and when we treat Vivekananda and Rabindranath Tagore as our cultural icons, why do we not accept the core of their philosophy and outlook as guiding stars for the nation? If great minds like Arnold Tonybee, Ralph Waldo Emerson and Walt Whitman recognize the universal appeal of Vedanta, if its values accord with those required for maintaining social, economic and ecological balance of the world and if its concepts are wholly reconcilable with the findings of modern physics, why do we fight shy of making them our constitutional goals and ensure that the people do not remain without an inspiration or a mooring or a moral compass? The present Indian State leaves the people generally cold and they do not feel any compunction of conscience in resorting to corruption and other malpractices.

Relations in Triad — The Constitution, Governance and Decentralization: With Special Reference to Nepal

Lok Raj Baral

The Constitution is a piece of paper if it is not fully backed by the people. Examples abound in how Constitutions were written and rewritten in the name of democratic governance, freedom and social justice but many of them do not exist today. In South Asia, only two countries — India and Sri Lanka — have been able to continue the tradition of constitutional democracy without any break despite the political upheavals, trends of separatism, violence and internal wars. Putting people at the centre stage of politics, both the countries carry out periodic elections for ensuring accountability and legitimacy of power. Bangladesh has tried to stabilize its constitutional order after harrowing political catastrophes but the trends of fundamentalism seem to pose threats to the political system.

The background to the Constitution, context, actors and their ideological commitments determine the stability and legitimacy of the constitutional government. The colonial background that spurred the spirit of nationalist movement and freedom and the unflinching commitment of nationalist leaders to prepare and operationalize the constitutional system are the principal reasons for providing democratic stability and progress of India. The Indian Constitution accepts popular sovereignty in its preamble.

South Asia presents a myriad of governmental pictures that range from traditional absolute monarchies in Bhutan and Nepal to parliamentary and semi-presidential systems as those of Bangladesh, India and Sri Lanka, and to authoritarian regimes as those of the Maldives and Pakistan. Recent developments in Nepal have restored monarchical supremacy with the King taking over all powers by abandoning the constitutional process. It is all the more ironical when

the King inserts Article 127 of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal because he has been running the country by using this Article for many purposes. In fact, this Article has been inserted only for removing inconveniences that arise during the course of implementing the Constitution.

Practically, the 1990 Constitution of Nepal is rigid as its fundamentals — constitutional monarchy, multiparty system, sovereignty of people and basic rights — are unalterable. In practice, the major political player — the King, more than the political parties' leaders — has violated this Constitution to return to absolute monarchy in the twenty-first century Nepal. Even if the Constitution is almost dead now, political forces are at work to consolidate the spirit of popular sovereignty through people's empowerment. Nepal's case has also suggested that the constitutional order can only be preserved with the empowerment of people.

The agenda of empowerment is related to governance. If the governing elites use power for self-aggrandisement without trying to create conditions for empowerment of people by introducing social, economic and political reforms, governance becomes a mere formality. Governance is a process as well as day-to-day activities concerning 'action, manner, fact or function, of governing'. It is also authoritative allocation of functions for ensuring administrative capability and procedural as well as institutional behaviour. Effective exercise of authority and control based on rational decisions is the hallmark of governance. Inclusion of civil society, efficiency and accountability and respect for the rule of law are also the pre-requisites of democratic governance.

Every Constitution contains the basics of governance. It is, therefore, a mirror with which one can see the theory and practices of government. Diehard monarchists in Nepal who maintain that Hindu monarchy does not need to be bound by the articles of the Constitution are challenging this concept and practice. A country's historical tradition, subject political culture and weak institutions and parties cannot sustain constitutional order. Nepal's recent experiment with multiparty system and the so-called constitutional monarchy were taken as contradictory terms because of the ambitious monarchs who invariably have defied the spirit of popular sovereignty. So whatever was written in the Constitution, the King interpreted it as his prerogative to interpret it according to his own light.

While discussing constitutionalism, the actual power and roles of an elected government should be made clear, though clarity would also come in course of implementation. In India, the position of the civilian head of government is never challenged by the army unlike in other South Asian Governments dominated by the military or traditional monarchies. In Nepal, whenever the issue of the army came, it was perceived as the exclusive domain of the King. The Kings and crown princes and some other close relatives always take pride in using military fatigues showing that the military is organic to monarchy despite the constitutionally defined positions of each organ of government. The preconditions put up by the army and the manner in which the army defied the order of the government for countering the Maoist menace and playing the role of bystanders, when the Maoists massacred policemen, had opened the eyes of the government. The resignation of the Home Minister and subsequently of the Prime Minister on the issue of non-co-operation of the army showed the crisis of governance.

A psychological warfare seemed to have influenced the working of the elected government during the height of the Maoist insurgency in Nepal. Intra-party and inter-party conflicts were no less responsible for sidetracking the issues of good governance. Such non-co-operative attitudes of the main organs of government militated against the spirit of democratic governance. The recognition of three power centres — the King, the Nepali Congress and the Left parties, especially the largest Communist Party, CPN (UML) — and the expectation of British type democracy seemed to be contradictory in the Nepali context. Its consequences turned out to be disastrous for democracy and the country, with political forces taking divergent positions on each issue and policies. So the parties started showing a steady decline in both government and opposition, while the traditional monarch took the advantage of such weaknesses. The Maoists became the main beneficiary of the political melee. Later, it was realized by the political parties and civil society that the King, in the short run, appeared to be another beneficiary. Making the agenda 'terrorism or peace', the King was successful in paving the way for monocracy.

Has the royal rule (2002-2005) improved the conditions of governance? Has it been able to arrest institutional decay or destruction? Has it prevented the erosion of the state authority? Has it

been able to assure the people outside the capital that they would no more be under threats of the Maoists and the state security forces? Would the regime stop further displacement and allow the affected people to return to their homes? Can the commitment of the King that he would honour constitutional monarchy and multiparty democracy be fulfilled? Can Nepal reverse the trends of radicalization of politics and society with which to establish democracy based on popular sovereignty? So far none of these questions seems to have received any credible answer. On the contrary, Nepal is replete with cancerous symptoms of malgovernance.

Externally, the crisis of governability is also evident today. Never in the history of the post-Rana period, has Nepal been so much isolated from the rest of the world. If major interactions and cordiality are absent in inter-state relations, the formality of diplomacy does not make much sense. What is the basis of legitimacy of power? Nepal's crisis of governance has become more critical in view of the country being isolated from the rest of the world. Nepal's foreign policy today suffers from the inability of the ruler to see the world though the prism of changes under way in bilateral, regional and international relations.

The two planks — end of terrorism and peace — are as elusive as ever, and democracy has become a fleeting slogan of the ruler for national and international attention. Violation of human rights, abandonment of the democratic process, and increasing trends of centralization, along with the declining capacity of the regime to push the agenda of empowerment of ordinary people and development have made the regime lose credibility in the eyes of the international community.

It is shameful that the United Nations, in which Nepal took pride when it became the Security Council member twice, is no more sympathetic to it because of the absence of democracy. India, the US and the European Union countries, especially the UK and the Nordic countries, are also not fence-sitters this time. They have shown that in today's international relations, the state is also subject to limitations because the UN itself has provided legitimacy for what it calls 'humanitarian intervention'.

Democracy cannot survive without creating the infrastructure of local government institutions. People's empowerment is possible only through local self-government or actual decentralization of power,

though the local government concept and practice is much more inclusive and autonomous than decentralization. In Nepal, the centrality of Kathmandu — the capital — is one of the negative factors for Nepal's development. The division of the country into various administrative and developmental zones is itself faulty because of the tendency of elites to reserve powers at the centre. Historically, Nepal continues to be ruled by a few high caste and high class groups. Today, politicians, who come as representatives from various district constituencies in the country, easily turn into new Kathmandu elites. Now all activities including the agitations are Kathmandu-centric suggesting that Nepal's problem of decentralization of political and administrative powers is becoming more complex. The influx of people displaced from the villages, rural-urban migration, and opportunities made available in the capital, denying them outside, have further complicated the situation.

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The Indian Constitution and Governance

P P Rao

P N Haksar was an original thinker, a bold and outspoken civil servant, a renowned administrator and a man of vision with commitment. He was responsible for making the institution of Prime Minister's office, the most powerful in the entire Executive, which resulted in reducing the position of all ministries. My assessment is corroborated by the following:

- P N Dhar: *'Indira Gandhi, the 'Emergency' and Indian Democracy'*, Oxford University Prress (2000)

- B N Tandon: *'PMO Diary-1 Prelude to the Emergency'*, Konark Publishers Pvt. Ltd. (2003)

- V A Pai Panandiker and Ajay K Mehra: *'The Indian Cabinet'*, Konark Publishers Pvt. Ltd. (1996)

- P C Alexander: *'Through the Corridors of Power — An Insider's Story'*, Harper Collins Publishers India (2004)

The Constitution of India and Framework of Governance

Democracy: Parliamentary democracy was adopted in preference to the presidential system after due deliberation. The Council of Ministers is accountable to the elected legislature including Parliament. Experience of over five decades has exposed serious deficiencies in the working of the system. The electoral process is dominated by money and muscle power, caste and communal considerations. The 13th Deshraj Chaudhury Memorial Lecture delivered by Atal Behari Vajpayee[1] is an eye opener. The 170th report of the Law Commission of India on Reform of the Electoral Laws (1999) and the report of the National Commission to Review the working of the Constitution (2002) have highlighted a steady deterioration of standards, practices and pronouncements of the political class which fights elections, its adoption of unfair means to win

elections and increasing criminalization of politics and of the electoral process. The National Commission noted a crisis of confidence and a crisis of leadership. Political leaders, owing to narrow partisan and sectarian interests and desire for short-time political gains are unable even to agree upon broad common national purposes. (para 2.26.3). In 1999, the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) in its manifesto had promised electoral reforms and implementation of the recommendations made by the Dinesh Goswami Committee, the Indrajit Gupta Committee, the Law Commission of India, etc., but failed to redeem its promise.

The Indian National Congress in its manifesto of 2004 had also promised electoral reforms, but there is no indication yet of any step in this direction. It is necessary to arrest further decline and deterioration in the quality of public life. As Nani A Palkhivala used to say, 'by voting ignorant professional politicians to power, we have kept a singularly gifted and enterprising nation in the ranks of the poorest on earth'[2]. According to him the grim irony of the situation, where the one job for which you need no training or qualification whatsoever, is the job of legislating for and governing the largest democracy on earth[3]. It was his considered view: 'If experts imbued with a spirit of dedication and wisdom were to be inducted into the cabinet and were to be allowed the requisite freedom of action, we could transform this country into one of the great economic powers'[4]. The Supreme Court took note of the report of N N Vohra Committee, constituted by the Government of India in 1993, which brought out the nexus between the bureaucracy and politicians with mafia gangs, smugglers and the underworld[5]. Experts have diagnosed the causes of the decline of democratic institutions and have suggested well thought-out remedial measures to be taken. However, there is no political will to improve the system. Too many political parties, bereft of ideology but guided by the sole aim of capturing power and retaining it by hook or crook, are making a mockery of our democracy.

It is now clear that we have created democratic institutions in the name of the people, but are unable to ensure election of deserving leaders through the democratic process. The sovereign people of India are reduced to the position of helpless spectators with a limited right to vote in the elections, without having any say over the choice of candidates sponsored by political parties or in the manner of their functioning. Not only elections to Parliament, State Legislatures and

Panchayat institutions, even elections to students unions, professional bodies like Bar Councils, Medical Council, etc., are unable to throw up leaders of eminence, integrity and ability.

Civil Service: The Constitution visualizes and provides for a neutral and efficient civil service. Its neutrality stands eroded largely. It pays to dance to the tune of the political masters rather than stand up to them and refuse to obey illegal orders. Corruption has corroded the governing structures as never before, irrespective of the Party or Parties in power. The safeguards provided by Article 311(2) to government servants have, in their operation in many cases, given unmerited protection to corrupt elements and the dead wood, which deserve to be weeded out mercilessly. To tone up the efficiency and integrity of the government machinery, it is necessary to amend some of the provisions of Part XIV of the Constitution, 'Services under the Union and the States'. The provisions of the Constitution and the rules governing recruitment, control and discipline of government servants should be such as to ensure recruitment of the most meritorious candidates among the competitors, encouragement to government servants rendering outstanding service and deterrent punishment to those indulging in corruption or any other misconduct. They should permit showing the door straightaway to those who have outlived their utility, irrespective of the length of service put in by them. In an article published in *The Tribune* dated 5 January 2005, I have suggested certain amendments to the Constitution to facilitate premature retirement of public servants of doubtful integrity and utility, as the easiest way of getting rid of them in larger public interest. Periodic cleansing of the civil services is a must for efficient functioning.

Public Services Commissions: The Constitution has provided for the establishment of Public Service Commissions for the Union and the States. It contains elaborate provisions to ensure their autonomous functioning, independent of the governments concerned. It was expected that persons of eminence, integrity and experience in administration alone would be appointed as chairpersons and members of Public Service Commissions. The shortsighted and selfish politicians in power have misused and abused the power of appointment in many cases, which has affected the credibility of the Commissions and the fairness of selections made by them. Almost every selection made by some of these Commissions is challenged in courts. There is growing dissatisfaction with the functioning of the Service Commissions in general.

How to improve the Executive, the Legislature and the Judiciary?

To make the political executive perform better, it is not only necessary to carry out electoral reforms as recommended by the expert committees mentioned above, but also to make a few structural changes in the Constitution by amending some of the provisions governing the Executive. The Executive needs to be separated from the Legislature to a very large extent by rendering MPs, MLAs and MLCs ineligible to hold any executive office other than the post of Minister and, at the same time, lay down appropriate and strict conditions of eligibility for the office of Minister, so that anyone and everyone, irrespective of his shortcomings or unsavoury antecedents does not aspire for the office of Minister. Ministership should be made inaccessible to all except the most deserving and outstanding Members of the Parliament or a State Legislature.

One way of getting good leaders through elections is to regulate the right to contest. A beginning should be made with the student unions in educational institutions, by limiting the right to contest to the top 10 or 15 students including those who are toppers in sports, debates and other co-curricular activities. The same principle can be extended, *mutatis mutandis,* in the case of elections to professional bodies and all other voluntary associations. If the results are encouraging, suitable provisions may be inserted in the laws governing elections to local bodies, State Legislatures and Parliament. It is possible to lay down rigorous standards for selection of candidates by political parties. Strong political will is needed.

In addition, provision needs to be made for the direct induction into the Cabinet of outstanding persons of ability and experience to handle the key portfolios, without their having to be elected to Parliament or the State Legislature concerned. They could be made ex-officio Members of Parliament, or the State Legislative Assembly, or the Legislative Council as the case may be. .

A few Chief Justices of India have admitted publicly that there is corruption to a limited extent in the Judiciary as well. It is necessary to provide for premature retirement of judges and judicial officers of doubtful integrity by making suitable provisions in the Constitution. More than corruption, the delay in the disposal of cases at all levels is a matter of growing concern. It is possible to clear the backlog of cases by introducing a shift system in all courts utilizing the existing

infrastructure and the services of reputed retired judges and judicial officers, who are fit to serve, to the extent available. With minimum additional expenditure on courts, relief could be given to the litigant public.

Conclusion

India is a country with a tremendous potential. It has immense natural and human resources. By improving the system of governance, phenomenal progress can be achieved within the shortest time. The voice of the people, which is subdued, needs to assert itself. The need of the hour is to organize and mobilize public opinion in favour of Constitutional and Electoral Reforms. The people should prevail on the Central Council of Ministers and Members of Parliament of all political parties to act here and now.

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[4] Dr N B Parulekar Memorial Lecture, Pune, September 19, 1981 'We the people' by N A Palkhivala, Strand Book Stall, 1984, p. 49.

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Some Issues in Urban Development
Adarsh Misra

As per the 2001 Census, 285.35 million persons live in India's urban areas. They constitute 27.8 per cent of the total population of the country. It grew about 4.6 times during the last 50 years while the country's population grew only three times. This indicates that the process of urbanization has gathered considerable momentum over the last 50 years. The growth of population has put the urban infrastructure and services under a severe strain. Smaller cities have found it particularly difficult to cope with the increasing demands on the services because of inadequate financial resources. Urban areas in India present a grim picture with regard to the availability of basic infrastructure.

- About 21 per cent of the urban population is living in squatter settlements, where access to basic services is extremely poor.

- Although 89 per cent of the urban population is reported to have access to safe drinking water yet there are severe deficiencies with regard to equitable distribution of water.

- Nearly 46 per cent of the urban households have water toilets, but only 36 per cent of the urban households are connected to the public sewerage system.

- The average generation of waste is estimated at 0.4 kg per capita per day in cities containing population of one lakh to 50 lakh and a garbage collection efficiency of 50 to 90 per cent of the solid waste generated.

- City roads are inadequate for traffic requirements, leading to congestion and deterioration of the quality of roads due to excess load.

The paper is divided in two parts namely, poverty alleviation efforts and urban infrastructure efforts.

Poverty Alleviation Efforts

Trends in urban poverty show some encouraging signs, though the urban poor still face certain persistent problems at the ground level. One encouraging fact is that along with a fall in the proportion of the urban poor, there is a reduction in terms of absolute numbers (Table 1).

Table 1
Percentage and Number of Poor

Year	Poverty Ratio (percentage)			No. of Poor (million)		
1973-74	56.4	49.0	54.9	261.3	60.0	321.3
1977-78	53.1	45.2	51.3	264.3	64.6	328.9
1983	45.7	40.8	44.5	252.0	70.9	322.9
1987-88	39.1	38.2	38.9	231.9	75.2	307.9
1993-94	37.3	32.4	36.0	244.0	76.3	320.3
1999-00	27.1	23.6	26.1	193.2	67.1	260.3

Though, at the national level, the percentage of the poor in the rural areas is significantly higher than in the urban areas, states such as Andhra Pradesh, Goa, Gujarat, Haryana, Karnataka, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, Delhi and the Union Territory of Pondicherry have higher levels of urban poverty.

While income levels are rising to meet the basic nutritional needs, the other equally basic needs of shelter, civic amenities, health care, educational and social needs, etc., are not being met adequately. Urban poverty, thus, emerges as a more complex phenomenon than rural poverty, as can be seen from the undermentioned aspects:

- There are serious deficiencies in urban infrastructure as a result of the rapid growth of urban population and low investment in urban development.

- The incidence of poverty in a town, as measured by head count ratio (HCR), declines steadily with increase in size. A larger incidence of secondary and high-value tertiary activities in large cities gives people residing there a higher level of income. In contrast, the income levels of people in small and medium towns tend to be low because of the poor economic base and lack of employment opportunities in the organized sector.

- The fact that household size affects the poverty status of a household is well known. Larger households tend to have a higher probability of being poor.

Details of the programmes being operated by the Ministry of Urban Employment and Poverty Alleviation are as under:

Swarna Jayanti Shahari Rozgar Yojana

The Swarna Jayanti Shahari Rozgar Yojana (SJSRY) is a Central Sponsored Scheme which is funded on 75:25 basis by the Centre and the States. This scheme, initiated in 1997-98, is the only scheme for urban employment which aims at providing gainful employment through self-employment ventures or wage employment. This programme relies on the creation of suitable community structures (neighbourhood groups, neighbourhood committees and community development societies) to provide supporting and facilitating mechanisms for local development.

During the first three years of the Tenth Plan, Rs.333 crore, which is 61.55 per cent of the Tenth Plan allocation of Rs.541 crore, has been utilized. This is a demand-driven scheme but the Ministry of Urban Employment and Poverty Alleviation has fixed an annual target of covering 80,000 persons under the Urban Self-Employment Programme/Development of Women and Child in Urban Areas (subsidy component) and 1,00,000 persons under the training component. During the first three years of the Tenth Plan, 2,97,419 persons have been provided with self-employment while 3,27,399 persons have been given training. However, the outcome of the training in terms of employability or setting up of self-employment ventures has been an area of great concern.

Valmiki Ambedkar Awas Yojana

The Valmiki Ambedkar Awas Yojana (VAMBAY) was introduced in 2001-02 to provide shelters or upgrading existing shelters of below poverty line (BPL) population living in urban slums. The Government of India provides 50 per cent Central subsidy while the States have the option of mobilizing their matching portion of 50 per cent from other sources, such as their own budget provision, resources of local bodies, loans from other agencies, contributions from the beneficiaries or NGOs, etc. Under this scheme, 20 per cent of the total allocation is provided for sanitation and community toilets. During the first three years of the Tenth Plan, Rs.727.58 crore, accounting for 36 per cent of the Tenth Plan allocation of Rs.2043 crore has been utilized.

Against the target of one lakh, 1.06 lakh and 1.12 lakh dwelling units in the first three years of the Tenth Plan, 1,10,388 houses were constructed in the first year, 1,08,376 in the second year and 1,13,004 in the third year.

Night Shelter for the Urban Shelterless

The Night Shelter for Urban Shelterless Scheme is a Central Sponsored Scheme which is funded on the basis of 50:50 by the Centre and the States or implementing agencies or through the Housing and Urban Development Corporation (HUDCO) as loan. The scheme facilitates the construction of composite night shelters with community toilets and baths for the urban shelterless. During the first three years of the Tenth Plan, Rs.8 crore, or 26 per cent of the Tenth Plan allocation of Rs.30.97 crore, is expected to be utilized. The scheme is a demand-driven one and the Ministry of Urban Employment and Poverty Alleviation is not receiving an adequate number of proposals from the states.

There is a need for establishing Urban Poverty and Slum Development Task Forces/Authorities at the state level. Similarly, city administrations should create Urban Poverty Alleviation (UPA) cells at the municipal level, which should have representation of slum-dwellers as well as of the community development societies set up under SJSRY and active NGOs in the field. The UPA cell should be put in overall charge of urban poverty and slum related programmes as envisaged in the Constitution (74th) Amendment Act, 1992.

There is, in general, a certain despondency among the agencies responsible for programmes such as SJSRY with regard to the availability of credit to the urban poor. The increased emphasis on commercial functioning is affecting the availability of credit for the urban self-employed. Credit and thrift societies run by women's SHGs have done exceedingly well in financing housing and various self-employment activities in conjunction with micro-credit financing institutions/commercial banks. The micro-credit financing institutions must, therefore, be strengthened to provide finance to encourage self-employment among the urban poor.

There is an urgent need for a strategy to utilize the services of Poverty Elimination and Rural Employment Exchanges in the urban areas which can act as the focal point for the placement of unemployed youths who would be trained under SJSRY. Thus, employment exchanges should work as placement agencies with linkages with prospective employers in both organized and unorganized sectors and

training institutions. A positive correlation needs to be developed between the number of persons trained and the number of persons employed and those who set up micro-enterprises

The wage employment component of SJSRY needs to be used only for building community assets and infrastructure relating to the urban poor, and not for general municipal works. This would ensure improvement in the civic amenities meant for the urban poor. The works need to be selected by the beneficiaries and executed by the community development societies themselves. Monitoring of the project at both the Central and State levels need to be strengthened.

II

Infrastructure Development and Governance Efforts

The (74th) Amendment Act, 1992, of the Constitution aimed at decentralization and creation of a democratic governance structure at the local level. Its objective was to redefine the relationship between the states and the municipal bodies, in order to firmly establish elected Urban Local Bodies (ULBs) as the institutions of self-government (Article 243W).

The states have carried out the required amendments to the municipal laws and elections have been held in several states more than once under the supervision of State Election Commissions. The objective of political decentralization has been accomplished to a substantial degree but the existing institutional framework for urban planning has not been realigned in accordance with the provisions of the 74th Amendment. Most state governments have shied away from implementing several provisions of the Act. The Twelfth Schedule (Article 243W) lists 18 functions to be transferred to the ULBs. However, only six states (Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Punjab and Tripura) have devolved all these functions. Only 21 states have set up District Planning Committees and only West Bengal and Maharashtra have established Metropolitan Planning Committees. Functional and financial autonomy of the ULBs remains a distant dream.

The effectiveness of State Finance Commissions (SFCs) depends on the implementation of their recommendations by the concerned states. The ultimate objective of the exercise should be the transfer of adequate level of state resources on a multi-year basis to

ULBs in a manner that is free from procedural hassles and uncertainties. Importantly, there is need for transfers, based on the recommendations of the SFCs, to be linked to the degree of efficiency in raising resources, proper accounting and conformity to urban reforms.

However, experience shows that state governments have not fully complied with the recommendations of SFCs. Most of the SFCs have recommended a proportionate share of state tax and non-tax revenue to be devolved to the ULBs, but the actual transfers are much less and uncertain. This has led to a precarious situation for the ULBs, which have also suffered because of the abolition by most state governments of octroi which was their main source of revenue.

The devolution of functions to the ULBs is incomplete and the financial resources with them are inadequate. State governments are unwilling to provide autonomy to the ULBs, the methods of property taxation are outdated and, in general, the attitude towards levy of user charges is indifferent.

A number of cities have involved the private sector in the provision of urban services. Public Private Partnership (PPP) projects, particularly in Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and Gujarat have covered conservancy, sanitation, garbage collection/disposal, compost plant, street lighting, water supply, collection of local taxes, development and maintenance of gardens and parks, bus terminus, land development and market development, etc. A majority of PPP initiatives are in water supply, sanitation and solid waste management. Lack of properly designed PPP models and the absence of a regulatory framework to govern such arrangements have inhibited the full utilization of the PPP arrangements for urban development.

The Rakesh Mohan Committee on the investment requirements of infrastructure had estimated the annual requirement of funds (1996-2001) for providing infrastructure (water supply, sanitation and roads) to the urban population at Rs.28, 298 crore. The annual requirement for the period 2001-2006 was estimated to be Rs.27, 773 crore. During the Ninth Plan period, Rs.5, 200.01 crore under the Central Plan and Rs.20,838.00 crore under State Plans were spent on housing and urban development. In the Tenth Plan, an outlay of Rs.11,510 crore as gross budgetary support (GBS) for the Ministries of Urban Development and of Urban Employment and Poverty Alleviation under the Central Plan and Rs. 43,138.67 crore under State

Plans have been provided. This represents an increase of 121 per cent in the Central Plan and 107 per cent in the State Plans over the Ninth Plan realization, but the present level of funding is not even tackling the fringes of the problem.

Jawahar Lal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission

In order to cope with the massive problems that have emerged as a result of rapid urban growth, it has become imperative to draw up a coherent urbanization policy/strategy to implement projects in selected cities on a mission mode approach. Jawahar Lal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JN NURM) was launched by the government on 3 December 2005 for a seven-year period. The Mission envisages focused attention on integrated development of infrastructural services in the Mission cities, secure effective linkages between asset creation and assets management, ensure adequate investment of funds to fulfil deficiencies, planned development of city including peri-urban areas, outgrowths, urban corridors, scale up the delivery of civic amenities on universal access to the urban poor and redevelopment of inner city areas to reduce congestion.

The Mission is divided into two sub-missions. Sub-Mission-I on Urban Infrastructure and Governance would take care of urban infrastructure projects, including water supply, sanitation, sewerage, solid waste management, road network, urban transport and redevelopment of inner city areas in about 63 selected cities. An omnibus scheme for cities/towns outside the Mission area known as Urban Infrastructure Development Scheme for Small and Medium Towns (UIDSSMT) is also a part of the Mission. Programmes like slum improvement and rehabilitation, sites and services, environmental improvement, night shelters, community toilets and housing at affordable prices for EWS and LIG categories would be taken up under the Sub-Mission-II on basic services to the urban poor. Similarly, an Integrated Housing and Slum Development Programme (IHSDP) would cover non-Mission cities for providing basic services to the urban poor.

The Mission would be reform driven, fast track, and cover planned development of identified cities with focus on efficiency in urban infrastructure/service delivery mechanism, community participation and accountability of the ULBs towards the citizens. An allocation of Rs.50, 000 crore has been proposed for the NURM during the Mission period of seven years.

Table 2
Tenth Plan Outlay for Urban Development Schemes

Sr No.	Scheme	Tenth Plan outlay (Rs. in crores)
1	Infrastructure Development in Mega Cities	1050.00
2	Integrated Development Scheme for Small and Medium Towns (IDSMT)	1304.65
3	Accelerated Urban Water Supply Programme (AUWSP)	900.00
4	Urban Reforms Incentive Fund (URIF) ACA scheme	1000.00*
5	Valmiki Ambedkar Awas Yojana (VAMBAY)	2040.00
6	National Slum Development Programme (NSDP)-ACA scheme.	1429.00**

* Rs. 500 crore per year beginning 2003-04
** Allocations only for three years upto 2004-05

The Mission will cover 63 selected cities/urban agglomerates. It will include all million-plus cities including mega cities, state capitals and cities of religious, historical and tourist importance. The list is given in Annexure I.

The Mission, UIDSSMT and IHSDP will subsume the following on-going Centrally sponsored schemes and ACA programmes of Ministries of Urban Development/UEPA:

Given the emphasis on urban reforms in the Tenth Plan, an Urban Reforms Incentive Fund (URIF) was launched for providing incentives to state governments to carry out reforms in the areas of Urban Land Ceiling Regulation Act, stamp duty, rent control, computerization of registration, property tax, levy of reasonable user charges and double entry accounting in municipalities.

Under URIF, 28 States/Union Territories had signed the Memorandum of Agreement (MOA)/truncated MOA with the Ministry of Urban Employment and Poverty Alleviation. Of these, 20 agreed to repeal the Urban Land Ceiling Act and rationalize the stamp duty, 22 States/UTs agreed to reform the Rent Control Act, 27 States/UTs have agreed to computerize the registration process and levy reasonable user charges. All 28 States/UTs agreed to adopt the double entry system of accounting and reform property tax.

Under JN NURM, mandatory and optional reforms have been proposed. The state has to implement the optional reforms also during

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the Mission period. In the case of schemes for basic services for the urban poor and schemes relating to water supply and sanitation, certain mandatory reforms would become optional reforms. Details of the mandatory and optional reforms at ULB/parastatal and state levels are given in Annexure II.

ACA of Rs. 50,000 crore has been approved for JN NURM over a seven-year period beginning 2005-06. The component-wise breakup is as under:

Table 3
Breakup of Funds Approved under
Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (Rs. in crore)

Sub Mission I	Sub Mission II	UIDSSMT	IHSDP	Total
24,400	13,500	6,400	4,700	50,000

Each city has to prepare a city development plan for a period of 20-25 years (with five yearly updates) indicating policies, programmes and strategies of meeting fund requirements, followed by preparation of development plans integrating land use with services, urban transport and environment management and detailed project reports for undertaking projects under identified areas.

The funding pattern for the Sub-Mission on Urban Infrastructure and Governance and the Sub-Mission on Basic Services to the Urban Poor is given in Annexure III. The State would be provided additional Central assistance in the form of 100 per cent grant as a percentage of project cost, ranging from 35 per cent (for mega cities) to 90 per cent (for NE states). In the case of UIDSSMT and IHSDP, the funding pattern is 80:20 per cent between the Central and State Governments/ULB/parastatal. In the case of special category States, the funding pattern between Centre and the States will be 90: 10.

There will be an appraisal of projects and funds will be released for the preparation of city development plans, detailed project reports, signing of MOAs with specific milestones. Systems for operationalizing at the state level are clearly covered by the detailed guidelines issued by both ministries.

On completion of the Mission period of seven years, it is expected that ULBs/parastatals will achieve the following outcomes:

(a) Modern and transparent budgeting, accounting, financial management systems, designed and adopted for all urban services and governance functions.

(b) City-wide framework for planning and governance will be established and become operational.

(c) All urban residents will be able to obtain access to a basic level of urban services.

(d) Financially self-sustaining agencies for urban governance and service delivery will be established, through reforms in major revenue instruments.

(e) Local services and governance will be conducted in a manner that is transparent and accountable to citizens.

(f) E-governance applications will be introduced in core functions of the ULBs/parastatals resulting in reduced cost and time of service delivery processes.

The Ministry of Urban Development has formulated a draft National Urban Transport Policy with the following vision:

(a) To recognize that people occupy centre stage in our cities and all plans would be for their common benefit and well-being.

(b) To make our cities the most liveable in the world and enable them to become 'engines of economic growth' that power India's development in the twenty-first century.

(c) To allow our cities to evolve into urban forms that are best suited for the unique geography of their locations and are best placed to support the main social and economic activities that take place in the city

The policy envisages preparation of comprehensive land use and transport plans suitable to the specific needs of the city, equitable allocation of road space, priority to the use of public transport, pricing policy of public transport, technologies for public transport, financing of projects by the Central Government through equity participation and/or viability gap funding, parking, etc.

With the above reform-driven JN NURM and poverty reduction programmes, the living standard of our cities will improve and the cities will become liveable with less congestion on the roads and better services of water supply and sanitation, sewerage and solid waste disposal and urban transport with proper operation and maintenance through user charges.

Annexure 1

List of cities included under JN NURM

- **Seven Mega cities:** Delhi, Greater Mumbai, Ahmedabad, Bangalore, Chennai, Kolkata, Hyderabad.

- **Twenty eight cities with million-plus population:** Patna, Faridabad, Bhopal, Ludhiana, Jaipur, Lucknow, Madurai, Nasik, Pune, Cochin, Varanasi, Agra, Surat, Amritsar, Visakhapatnam, Vadodara, Kanpur, Asansol, Nagpur, Coimbatore, Meerut, Rajkot, Jabalpur, Jamshedpur, Allahabad, Vijaiwada, Dhanbad, Indore.

- **Twenty eight identified cities with less than one million population** (state capitals or cities having tourist importance: Guwahati, Itanagar, Jammu, Raipur, Panaji, Shimla, Ranchi, Thiruvanatapuram, Imphal, Shillong, Aizawal, Kohima, Bhuvaneswar, Gangtok, Agartala, Dehradun, Bodhgaya, Ujjain, Puri, Ajmer-Pushkar, Nainital, Mysore, Pondicherry, Chandigarh, Srinagar, Mathura, Haridwar and Nanded.

State governments could recommend a change in cities except million-plus cities and the capital city.

Annexure II

Mandatory Reforms at Urban Local Body/ Parastatal level :
- Adoption of modern, accrual based double entry system of accounting in ULB/ parastatals.
- Introduction of the system of E-governance in housing, IT applications like GIS and MIS for various services provided by ULBs/ parastatals.
- Reforms of property tax with GIS so that it becomes a major source of revenue for the ULBs and arrangements for effective implementation so that collection efficiency reaches at least 85 per cent within the next five years.
- Levy of reasonable user charges by the ULBs/ parastatals with the objective that full cost of O&M. or recurring cost is collected within five years. However, cities/towns in the North-east and other special category states may recover at least 50 per cent of the O&M charges initially. These cities/towns should graduate to full O&M cost recovery in a phased manner.
- Internal earmarking within local bodies, budgets for basic services to the urban poor.
- Provision of basic services to the urban poor including security of tenure at affordable prices, improved housing, water supply, sanitation and ensuring delivery of other already existing universal services of the government for education, health and social security.

State Level Reforms
- Implementation of decentralization measures as envisaged in the 74th Constitutional Amendment Act. The states should ensure meaningful association/engagement of the ULBs in the planning function of parastatals as well as delivery of services to the citizens.
- Repeal of Urban Land Ceilings and Regulation Act.
- Reform of rent control laws balancing the interests of landlords and tenants.
- Rationalization of stamp duty to bring it down to not more than five per cent within next five years.
- Enactment of Public Disclosure Law to ensure preparation of medium term fiscal plan of the ULB/ parastatals and release of quarterly performance information to all stakeholders.

- Enactment of Community Participation Law to institutionalize citizen participation and introducing the concept of Area Sabha in urban areas.
- Assigning or associating elected ULBs with 'city planning function' over a period of five years, transferring all special agencies that deliver civic services in urban areas to ULBs and creating accountability platforms for all urban civic services providers in transition.

Note: Only in respect of schemes for basic services for urban poor and schemes relating to water supply and sanitation, the following state-level 'mandatory' reforms will be treated as 'optional':

(a) Repeal of Urban Land Ceiling & Regulation Act.

(b) Amendment of Rent Control Act.

For other projects, including capital-intensive projects, viz., highways/expressways/MRTS/ Metro Projects, etc. (in Sub-Mission I or UIDSSMT), the two reforms mentioned above shall continue to be mandatory.

All the mandatory/optional reforms shall be completed within the Mission period.

Optional reforms (common to state and ULBs/parastatals)

- Revision of by-laws to streamline the approval process for construction of buildings, development of sites, etc.
  Simplification of legal and procedural frameworks for conversion of agricultural land for non-agricultural purposes.
- Introduction of Property Tite Certification System in ULBs.
- Earmarking at least 20-25 per cent of developed land in all housing projects (both public and private agencies) for EWS/LIG category with a system of cross subsidization.
- Introduction of computerized process of registration of land and property.
- Revision of by-laws to make rain water harvesting mandatory in all buildings and adoption of water conservation measures.
- By-laws for reuse of recycled water.
  Administrative reforms, i.e., reduction in the establishment by bringing out voluntary retirement schemes, non-filling of posts falling vacant due to retirement, etc. , and achieving specified milestones in this regard.
- Structural reforms.
- Encouraging public private partnership.

Note: Any two optional reforms to be implemented together by the state and ULBs/parastatals in the first year.

Funding Pattern of Urban Infrastructure and Governance under the NURM

Category Of Cities/Towns/UAs	Grant		ULB or parastatal share/
	Centre	State	loan from FIs
Cities/UAs with 4 million-plus population as per 2001 Census	35%	15%	50%
Cities/UAs with million plus but less than 4 million population as per 2001 Census	50%	20%	30%
Cities/towns/UAs in North-eastern States and J&K	80%	10%	-
Cities/UAs other than those mentioned above	80%	10%	10%
For setting up de-sanitation plants within 20 km. from sea-shore and other urban areas predominantly facing water scarcity due to brackish water and non-availability of surface source	80%	10%	10%

Funding Pattern of Cities/Towns/Urban Agglomerations

Category of Cities/Towns/UAs	Centre (Grant)	State/ULB/Parastatal share including beneficiary contribution
Cities/UAs with 4 million-plus population as per 2001 Census	50%	50%
Cities/UAs with million-plus but less than 4 million population as per 2001 Census	50%	50%
Cities/Towns/UAs in North-eastern States and J&K	90%	10%
Other Cities/UAs	80%	20%

Services for the Urban Poor

- In Sub-Mission Il, the minimum of 12 per cent beneficiary contribution and in the case of SC/ST/BC/OBC/PH and other weaker sections will be 10 per cent.

- Under IHSDP, the cost ceiling for dwelling unit will be Rs.80,000. This will be reviewed after one year.

- In case any NURM project is also approved as Externally Aided Project (EAP), the EAP funds can be passed through as ACA to the state government as funds contributed by the state/ULBS/FIs and NURM funds can be used as Government of India contribution.

- In case of urban transport projects, the standard pattern of assistance of 35 per cent will not apply. The CCEA, while considering any such project proposal, may decide the level of equity and/or loan to be provided by the Central Government.

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Democratic Decentralization and Functioning of Panchayati Raj Institutions in India: Constitutional Assertions and Functional Realities

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Decentralization has been a major feature of the development landscape since the mid-1980s (Devas and others, 1997). Therefore, most of the democracies have elected sub-nation governments and these governments everywhere are devolving power to the sub-national tiers (World Bank, 2000). However, the devolution of power to different tiers of democracy varies from country to country. In India, democratic decentralization has created two distinct set-ups, one for the rural areas and the other for the urban areas. The democratic institutions functioning in the rural areas are called PRIs (Panchayati Raj Institutions) and the institutions in urban areas are called ULBs (Urban Local Bodies). Democratic decentralization in India has made Panchayati Raj Institutions, the third tier of democracy. It is not a flight of fancy but truly, India today is the world's largest democracy with democratic institutions at the Central, State, district, block and even at the village levels. Parliament at the Central level, Assemblies at the state levels and Panchayati Raj Institutions at the district, block and village levels are the democratic institutions at various levels in India. Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) are the illustrious examples of democratic decentralization and are now-a-days considered the backbone of India's democratic set-up. Assigning constitutional recognition to PRIs not only fulfils the promises of the Preamble of the Indian Constitution and democratic values but also gratifies the wishes of the father of the nation, Mahatma Gandhi, who said that 'true democracy cannot function through the twenty people sitting in the centre. It should be from base level and by the people of villages.'

In the context of remembering Shri P N Haksar, it is pertinent to mention his views on democratic decentralization, which run as follows:

Mere slogans of 'Decentralization' or creating Panchayati Raj Institutions will not do. I am not suggesting that we should not have panchayti raj ... If we have panchayati raj with no faithful agents at the grassroots level, it will reflect the existing *Lathi* and the possession of *Bhains* by the *Lathi* holders. All this would require the active intervention of faithful agents who uphold the cause of democracy.

He, like Dr B R Ambedkar, had the same concern for the empowerment of the weaker sections at the grassroots level democratic institutions. In the feudalistic rural society, power is grasped by the upper castes and economically stronger sections of society, who make a mockery of democracy by denying the right to the weaker sections in general and the backward and untouchables in particular to run PRIs independently and fearlessly. The fear of Shri Haksar was adequately addressed in the 73rd Constitutional Amendment on Panchayati Raj, which envisages reservation of seats for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and women.

The date 24 April 1993 will go down as an epoch making day in the history of panchayati raj in India. On this day, the Constitution (73rd Amendment) Act came into force and as a result the PRIs received constitutional recognition. While introducing the 73rd Amendment in Parliament, the then Rural Development Minister observed:

This casts a duty on the Centre as well as States to establish and nourish the village panchayats so as to make them effective self-governing institutions and by introducing this Act, the government was fulfilling Mahatma Gandhi's dream of Gram Swaraj.

With 496 panchayats at the district level, 5905 at the block level, and 23,0762 at the village level, India today has the world's largest functioning democracy at the grassroots. These panchayats are manned by 34 lakh elected representatives, including 10 lakh women, 3.64 lakh Scheduled Castes and 2.59 lakh Scheduled Tribes (*Kurukshetra*, 2002). In consonance with the Central Act, various states have passed their own Acts and are also making required amendments from time to time in order to strengthen the PRIs in their respective states. Today PRIs are the bedrocks of India's rural development and poverty alleviation

efforts. They are the prime implementing agencies of various rural development programmes of the government in the countryside. If effectively empowered, PRIs have the potential of building a progressive India (which veritably lives in its villages) in harmony with the felt needs and aspirations of the people.

The objectives of the paper are to:

- Give an account of the historical backdrop to rural local self government in India.

- Discuss the main features of the 73rd Constitutional Amendment and assertions for empowerment of rural local bodies.

- Analyse the extent of delegation of functions, functionaries and funds to Panchayati Raj Institutions.

- Identify deficiencies of rural local self-government in India.

- Compare democratic decentralization and devolution of power in India with a few European countries.

Truly, the Panchayati Raj system in India has a protracted history and enjoyed a pride of place during ancient and medieval periods. A reference to an organized system of rural local self-government is found in ancient Vedic literature and also in the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharat* where the *gramini* (village head) was responsible for collecting state dues, keeping village records, settling disputes and controlling crime. Kautaliya's *Artha Sastra* gives a comprehensive account of the system of village administration prevailing in ancient India. The golden era of the Guptas also recorded the useful role of panchayats at the village level. During the medieval period, the Mughals were largely against the panchayats. However, Akbar, appointed Nazims for provincial governance. Nazims are now playing an important role in Pakistan. Although the colonial rulers were not in favour of the panchayati raj system, yet they realized the importance of the system in India. This is amply reflected in the East India Company Resolution of 1765, which said:

> The people of this country are perfectly capable of administering their local affairs. The municipal feeling is deeply mooted in them. The village communities are the most abiding of Indian institutions. They maintained the framework of society while successive swarms of invaders swept over the country.

In 1882, Lord Ripon initiated some measures for activating local self-government in order to impart political education to the population in the countryside and this set the ball rolling and local self-government was initiated in a few provinces. The Royal Commission on Decentralization in 1907 recognized the importance of the panchayats at the village level, which recommended association of the people with the task of local administration. A few subsequent initiatives that focused on decentralization during British Raj are Montague-Chelmsford Act, 1919; the Simon Commission Report, 1925, and the Government of India Act, 1935. With these initiatives, by 1925, eight provinces had passed Panchayat Acts and by 1926 six Indian princely states had also passed panchayat laws. By 1948, 20 other princely states had Village Panchayat Acts.

After independence, the process of empowering panchayats gathered momentum. Mahatma Gandhi, the father of the nation, while emphasizing on 'gram swaraj' (village autonomy) strongly advocated that:

Independence must begin at bottom. Thus every village will be a republic of panchayat having full power.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, considered the panchayat an important socio-economic and political institution at the village level. While inaugurating panchayati raj in Rajasthan in 1959, he underlined the importance of people taking responsibilities:

To uplift millions of villagers is not an ordinary task, the reason for the slow progress is our dependence on official machinery. An officer is probably necessary because he is an expert. But this can be done only if the people take up the responsibility in their own hands. The people are not merely to be consulted but effective, power has to be entrusted to them.

While delineating a few functions of these local self-governments, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru advocated:

The panchayat bodies should assume the responsibilities of looking after the needs of everyone in the village and thus become an insurance against illness, unemployment, illiteracy and other disabilities.

The spirit and importance of the Panchayati Raj System finds place in Article 40 of the Directive Principles of State Policy of the Constitution of India, which says:

The state shall take steps to organize village panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government.

The First Five Year Plan recognized the need for disaggregated planning through a process of democratic decentralization incorporating the idea of a village plan and a district development council.

The credit of initiating the process of empowerment of PRIs through constitutional measures goes to the then Prime Minister of India, Shri Rajiv Gandhi. He used to say that if we send one rupee to the people only 20 paise reaches them. He desired to strengthen the Panchayati Raj System for improving rural governance and to check corruption through the system of social auditing. He opined :

We must put an end to planning from above. We must put an end to priorities being conceived and decided at ethereal heights, far from the realities on the ground.

In the same vein, shortly after the passing of the 73rd Constitutional Amendment, the then Prime Minister P V Narasimha Rao, in his letter to panches and sarpanches mentioned:

Democracy and devolution of powers to panchayats have now become part of the most sacred document of this nation, the Constitution of India. No one can now snatch democratic practices from your panchayats. The constitutional changes will prove to be a major landmark in the history of development of rural areas of this country. They will be vibrant institutions performing necessary development, regulatory and general administrative functions.

Some of the features of the 73rd Constitutional Amendment are worth mentioning. These are:

- Establishment of a three-tier structure: Village Panchayat (Gram Panchayat); Intermediate Panchayat (Block Samiti/ Mandal Panchayat/ Panchayat Samiti); and District Panchayat (Zilla Parishad).

- Regular elections to panchayats every five years.

- Proportionate seat reservation for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

- One-third seat reservation for women at the three different levels of PRIs.

- Establishment of State Finance Commissions to recommend measures to improve the finances of panchayats.

- Establishment of State Election Commissions to deal with election of representatives to PRIs.

- Establishment of District Planning Committees to prepare daft development plans for the districts.

- Panchayats are responsible for the preparation of plans and their execution for economic development and social justice with regard to 29 subjects listed in the Eleventh Schedule of the Constitution.

- Establishment of Gram Sabhas (Village Assembly) and their empowerment as decision-making bodies at the village level.

- Rotation of seats in the PRIs.

After the 73rd Constitutional Amendment (1993), the empowerment of PRIs has become a buzzword. Part IX of the Act (Article 243G) reads:

Subject to the provision of the Constitution, the legislature of a state, by law, may endow the panchayats with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as institutions of self-government and such law may contain provisions for the devolution of powers and responsibilities upon panchayats at the appropriate level, subject to such conditions as may be specified therein, with respect to:

- the preparation of plans for economic development and social justice; and

- the implementation of schemes for economic development and social justice as may be entrusted to them including those in relation to matters listed in the Eleventh Schedule.

The powers and responsibilities to be delegated to the panchayats at the appropriate levels are: (a) preparation of plans for economic development and social justice; (b) implementation of schemes for economic development and social justice in relation to the

29 subjects given in the Eleventh Schedule of the Constitution; and (c) to levy, collect and appropriate taxes, duties, tolls and fees. Panchayats can fulfill their responsibilities as institutions of self-government only if devolution is patterned on a nexus between the three Fs: Functions, Functionaries and Finances (Aiyar, 2002). Concise Oxford Dictionary defines empowerment as 'the process of challenging existing power relations and of gaining greater control over the sources of power'. Razyia (1999) termed empowerment 'as a process of gaining control over the self, over ideology and the resources, which determine power'. Empowerment of PRIs veritably implies devolution with freedom and authority to exercise their power with regard to three Fs. Devolution connotes transfer of authority from a higher to a lower layer of government in respect of the performance of certain functions, discharge of certain duties and exercise of certain powers (Subrahmanyan, 2003). Devolution here means transfer of power, i.e., functions, funds and functionaries, from the state governments to PRIs relating to 29 subjects as envisaged in the 73rd Constitutional Amendment.

Ironically, even a decade after the passage of both the Central and thereafter the State Acts, devolution of power to PRIs, but for a few exceptions here and there, has not taken place in the true sense and it has remained largely a paper law in many states. Though the panchayats are being endowed with increasing functions and responsibilities, their functional capabilities, however, have yet to be improved appropriately in many states with the adoption of suitable measures (Khanna, 1999). Strictly speaking, with a few exceptions, state governments are not favourably disposed to strengthening their PRIs. Neither have they the necessary political will nor do their senior-level bureaucracy and state legislatures have any sympathy for the cause of panchayats (Subrahmanyan, 2003). Even the Tenth Five Year Plan has observed that 'the sprit of the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments has not been observed in many of the states. The plan document believes that little improvement will be possible until such decentralization becomes effective, both in terms of functions and resources. At the All India Conference of the heads of panchayats held in New Delhi in early 2003, they demanded that the state governments must devolve finances, functions and functionaries to the PRIs as per the sprit of the 73rd Amendment. At a two-day conference of the Chief Ministers of states held in June, 2004, regarding the empowerment of

PRIs, Prime Minister Dr Manmohan Singh laid emphasis on the institutionalization of the Panchayati Raj System and stressed that the State Finance Commission awards on funds should be honored and should be transferred to the PRIs in time.

The state governments were supposed to transfer functions to the PRIs pertaining to 29 subjects listed in the Eleventh Schedule of the Constitution. However, among the States and UTs only Karnataka, Kerala, Rajasthan, Skkim, Tamil Nadu, West Bengal and Daman and Diu have transferred 29 subjects. Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Jharkhand, Goa, Gujarat, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Chandigarh and Pondicherry have not transferred any function. The remaining states and UTs have devolved some functions. In states like Kerala, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, and West Bengal panchayats are running schools, supervising dispensaries, engaging in group farming, harvesting rain, and even setting up small power plants (*Economic and Political Weekly*, 2002). Ironically, even after transferring the functions many state governments have not formulated the necessary instructions or guidelines to help the PRIs in discharging their functions. The line departments mostly formulate and implement the functions delegated to the PRIs. The PRIs are being treated just as a 'consultative' body and the actual 'authority' of implementing programmes and schemes lies with the line departments. One of the examples is the Janambhomi programme in Andhra Pradesh, where sarpanches were unhappy that the programme, which should have been implemented by the PRIs, was being implemented by the government (Rajiv Gandhi Foundation, 2000). The devolution of functions of different departments to the PRIs as per the Eleventh Schedule of the Constitution has been more in percentage in southern states as compared to states of other regions (Table 1).

Table 1

Devolution of Functions to PRIs by the States in Different Regions of India

Region	Number of departments delegated to PRIs*
Northern	18
Southern	25
Central	16
Western	19
Eastern	18

Source: Absolute figures were taken from, *Kurukshetra*, 2002

* calculated

During a training programme on the devolution of power to PRIs in Punjab, most of the representatives opined that devolution without the necessary 'power' and 'authority' was a 'mockery' and nothing but 'old wine in a new bottle'. They even said that assigning responsibility without power and authority had no meaning, and responsibility and authority should go hand in hand. A High Powered Task Force of the Union Ministry of Rural Development (2001) pointed out that the functions devolved upon the PRIs were in the nature of 'subjects' rather than in terms of 'activities' or 'sub-activities'. There is utter lack of both political and bureaucratic will to delegate to the PRIs functions with the necessary powers and authority. In other words, the local self-government lacks autonomy in performing their functions and there is maximum intervention by the state government.

Considering the workload and duties and responsibilities thrust on the PRIs, they should be given functionaries. Moreover, the functionaries of other line departments devolved to the PRIs need to be transferred to them. Some states like Gujarat, Karnataka, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan have only transferred the functionaries and issued instructions to keep them under the control of the panchayats. Other states have not taken adequate steps to transfer functionaries to the PRIs. Even panchayat functionaries, like secretaries/gram sevaks/village development officers who are supposed to be under the panchayats, are working under the control of the government. During CRRID training programmes for the PRIs' representatives and functionaries it was observed that panchayat secretaries felt embarrassed if they were called employees of the gram panchayat and were to work under the panchayats. The functionaries of the line departments transferred to panchayats feel that their role in the implementation of development schemes might be reduced considerably if powers and functions were transferred to panchayats (Pattanaik, 2003). Officers of the line departments hardly assign any importance to the panchayats and instead of co-operating, in many cases, they confront them. It is rightly remarked that in the absence of such effective devolution of functionaries with functions, there is a kind of diarchy operating at the ground level, which is detrimental to good governance (Aiyar, 2002). In the southern states in general and in Kerala and Karnataka in particular, the functionaries of many line departments have been transferred to the PRIs. The transfer of functionaries is meagre in states of the northern region, where virtually

the functionaries of not a single department have been transferred to the PRIs in the real sense (Table 2).

Table 2
Devolution of Functionaries of Different Departments to PRIs
by the States in Different Regions of India

Region	Percentage of Functionaries of different departments delegated to PRIs*
Northern	0.7
Southern	11.5
Central	9.0
Western	9.0
Eastern	3.5

Source: Absolute figures were taken from, *Kurukshetra*, 2002
* calculated

A large number of functions have been vested in decentralized bodies without sufficient finances and this has resulted in their near-failure to fulfill their responsibilities, leading to discontinuance of the system in many states (Hegde, 1994). Customarily the panchayats depend almost completely on the Central and State Governments for funds and raise a negligible amount of revenue by themselves (June, 1992). NIRD study reveals that the panchayat revenue account for a mere 3.91 per cent; while the share of grants-in–aid was as high as 90 per cent of the combined receipts of all the panchayats in the states during 1992-93. The flow of funds to the panchayats is haphazard and sometimes guided by political nepotism and is spent through the line departments in many states. For schemes executed by the panchayats, funds are received in numerous unpredictable instalments throughout the year, making rational implementation difficult (Mukharji, 1993). Further, funds that are available are mostly tied in nature and leave little flexibility to the panchayats (Kumar, 2003). Madhya Pradesh and Karnataka to some extent and Kerala to a greater extent have devolved funds to panchayats. Starting from 1996, about 40 per cent of the state government-controlled funds were devolved from the bureaucracy to the village planning councils. Karnataka Panchayat Act provides for a grant of five lakh rupees to be given to gram panchayats by the government. In Madhya Pradesh, a panchayat can spend up to three lakh rupees without any outside clearance. But in many states, the panchayats lack the power of financial autonomy and need the approval

of BDOs for spending money. In practice, the existing arrangements governing fiscal devolution to panchayats are still haphazard and do not rest on any rational criteria to meet their financial commitments, imposed by the relevant statutes (Subrahmanyam, 2002).

Table 3
Devolution of Funds to PRIs by the States in Different Regions of India

Region	Percentage of Funds of different departments delegated to PRIs
Northern	5.0
Southern	12.2
Central	11.3
Western	9.0
Eastern	4.2

Source: Absolute figures were taken from, *Kurukshetra*, 2002
* calculated

The devolution of funds of the line departments to PRIs is extremely poor in the states of the northern region, while in the southern states, funds of 13 departments have been transferred to the PRIs (Table 1). Financial autonomy is critical to functional autonomy and effective functioning of the PRIs. Except their income from taxable sources and the use of Common Property Resources (CPRs), the panchayats do not have any untied funds to spend on need-based development activities.

Table 4
Revenue and Expenditure of States of Different Regions
(Average of 1996-97 and 1997-98)

Region	Percapita Revenue	Percapita Expenditure
Northern	125.9	146.1
Southern	112.3	90.8
Central	74.4	76.2
Western	74.8	65.7
Eastern	54.7	60.5

Source: *Eleventh and Twelfth Finance Commission Reports*, Government of India

The taxable revenue of many states is quite low, thus leaving little untied money in the hands of the PRIs to spend on need-based developmental activities. It was observed that there is a general lack of

political will among the state political parties to impose taxes on the people, because of vote bank politics. Moreover, people are also not adequately made aware and motivated about the role and importance of taxes in sustainable rural development. Political will to impose taxes and peoples' will to pay taxes are critical to the financing of PRIs. The per capita tax of PRIs in 2002-03 was Rs. 60.8, 51.5, 33.9, 5.5 and 0.53 respectively in Maharashtra, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Haryana, and Punjab (Oommen, 2002). In the northern states a lot of expenditure is incurred on salaries and pensions of the functionaries working in Block Samiti and Zilla Parishad offices, rather than in panchayat offices. Ironically, the employees who are paid from the revenue of the PRIs consider themselves as employees of the state government, not of the PRIs.

Table 5
Expenditures on Core Services and Other Expenditures

Region	Percentage of PRIs expenditure on core service	Percentage of PRIs expenditure other services
Northern	10.5	89.5
Southern	45.6	54.4
Central	5.21	94.79
Western	22.9	77.10
Eastern	1.06	98.94

Source: *Eleventh Finance Commission Report*, Annexure VIII.2B pp. 232-6

Capacity building is the key to promoting effective involvement of the representatives in various activities of Panchayati Raj Institutions. The Balwant Rai Mehta Committee (1957) noted 'no efforts so far have been made either by the governments or by the public or political organizations to impart any training in administrative matters to persons elected to local bodies'. The Government of India in 1957 stressed 'training is essential if we are to make our local bodies effective and useful'.

In 1978, the Ashok Mehta Committee recommended that 'development of human resources should be the primary feature in the PRIs. The functionaries and the staff in the PRIs should be adequately equipped to play their apportioned roles'. In consonance with these national committees, the committees appointed by several state

governments on Panchayati Raj, also recommended training for both panchayat functionaries and elected representatives (Nayak, 2004). The Giridhari Lal Vyas Committee in Rajasthan recommended training at regular intervals both for officials and non-officials of the PRIs. The Bongiwar Committee in Maharashtra emphasized that training needed to represent the local conditions, systems, problems and development needs of the PRIs. The Narasimhan Committee in Andhra Pradesh underlined the need for training of both officials and functionaries of the PRIs for proper planning of rural transformation. The Zeena Hari Darji Committee in Gujarat recommended that training was the best measure for making panchayati raj successful.

The training of the elected representatives of the PRIs has not been taken up seriously except in the southern states of Karnataka and Kerala. Even there it lacks a systematic approach. Moreover, many amateur organizations with meagre expertise in training of PRIs conduct training programmes, which do more harm than good. However, during the training programmes for the elected representatives of PRIs, many of them were of the opinion that training was essential for improving their knowledge, attitude and practices. Because of the lack of knowledge they are not able to monitor effectively the activities of different department functionaries.
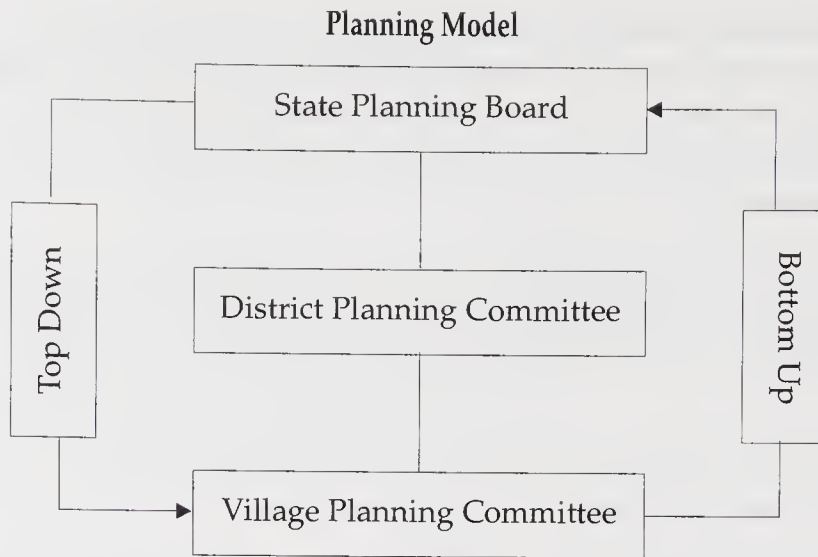
The Ashok Mehta Committee (1978), while affirming the role of Gram Sabhas, said that 'the Gram Sabha has an important role in activating the democratic process at the grassroots level, in inculcating community sprit, in increasing political awareness, in strengthening development orientation, in educating and in enabling the weaker sections to progressively assert their viewpoint'. The year 1999-2000 was declared as the 'Year of Gram Sabha' by the then Finance Minister in his budget speech. This was done in recognition of the fact that the Gram Sabha is potentially the most significant institution of participatory democracy and decentralization. The Gram Sabha is a key institution and has been assigned a basic role in the 73rd Constitutional Amendment. Article 243A of the Indian Constitution states, 'The Gram Sabha may exercise such powers and perform such functions at the village level as the legislative assembly of the state may by law provide'.

The meetings of Gram Sabhas do not take place properly and many times even the requirement of a quorum is not fulfilled. It is

observed that many times sarpanches/pradhans of gram panchayats, with the support of panches, manipulate to fulfil the necessary conditions. The involvement of block level officials and effective financial empowerment of the panchayats would be helpful in the functioning of the Gram Sabhas. Two main reasons cited for not holding Gram Sabha meetings properly in the villages are: (i) non-availability of grants from the government in time; and (ii) party politics. Moreover, it is also felt that as the people do not pay taxes, they hardly demand social auditing through the Gram Sabha. People are happy to join the Gram Sabha, when some benefits are to be given to the people. In other words, Gram Sabhas are largely 'grant-centered' and subject to provision of benefits for the people from the government. The Gram Sabha is the key centre of 'information'. Effective functioning of the Gram Sabha is critical to the empowerment of panchayats.

Even more than a decade after the passage of the 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act, there is no adequate diffusion of power from the hands of the heads of PRIs, whether Sarpanches or panchayats, chairmen of block samitis and chairmen of zilla parishads. Whether it is the people or the functionaries of various departments, they consult only the heads of the PRIs and hardly assign any importance to their members. The concentration of authority in the hands of the institutional head has defeated the purpose of 'decentralization', 'diffusion' and 'deconcentration'. This is largely because of the non-functioning of the standing committees as envisaged in the Constitution. Once the standing committees start functioning, the powers of the heads of PRIs would be diffused.

The district planning committees are the key to the 'bottom-up' approach. The 73rd Constitutional Amendment had envisaged the formation of District Planning Committees (DPCs) by the states in every district in order to perform the task of bottom-up planning. The DPCs were supposed to formulate district plans by consolidating panchayat plans, but except Kerala it is not taking place in any state. Moreover, in many states, The DPCs have not been formed and in a few states where these have been formed they are chaired either by the Deputy Commissioner/Distict Collector/Deputy Magistrate or a local Minister from the district, instead of the Chairmen of the Zilla Parishads, which goes against the ethos of the Constitution.

Planning Model

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              │    State Planning Board      │◄──────┐
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  │         │     │                         │   │         │
  │  Top    │     │  District Planning      │   │ Bottom  │
  │  Down   │     │  Committee              │   │  Up     │
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       └─────────►│  Village Planning        │◄────────┘
                  │  Committee               │
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The 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act aims at the empowerment of the disadvantaged such as the Scheduled Castes and women. It provides that 'In all panchayats, seats would be reserved for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in proportion to their population. Offices of the chairpersons of the panchayats at all levels shall be reserved in favour of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in proportion to their population in the state.' The 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act is a glorious step in the annals of women's political empowerment at the grassroots in India. Article 243 D (3) provides 'Not less than one-third (including the number of seats reserved for women belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes) of the total number of seats to be filled by direct election in every panchayat shall be reserved for women and such seats may be allotted by rotation to different constituencies in a panchayat.' According to Mani Shankar Aiyer (2004), the Minister of Panchayati Raj:

> India can truly be proud of being the first and the only country in the world to have empowered through free and fair elections more than one million women who are participating in the panchayats.

Because of caste domination and male feudalism, SCs and women are not effectively empowered. Still, in many parts of rural India, caste panchayats clandestinely exist and controll rural governance. In the same way, women are not given the opportunity to govern, largely because of male dominance and their preoccupation

with household activities. The social system is an obstruction to the creation of an enabling environment for these two disadvantaged sections of society. The process of democratic decentralization cannot be complete unless nearly 50 per cent of the elected heads become *de jure* in functioning.

Bureaucratic systems do not want the empowerment of Panchyati Raj Institutions and even the MLAs and MPs are not interested in the empowerment of PRIs. The Deputy Commissioners at the district level and the Block Development Officers at the block level still consider representatives of the PRIs not capable of handling development activities. Capacity building of the PRIs and devolution of functionaries to the PRIs would enable them to perform their duties and responsibilities effectively.

In many states neither the functionaries of panchayat nor of other line departments have been transferred to the panchayats. Because of lack of knowledge of book-keeping, many heads of panchayats succumb to the pressure of panchayat secretaries who manipulate the panchayat accounting system. Corruption and mismanagement of funds are being reported in many panchayats. Therefore, the head of a gram panchayat becomes dependent on the panchayat secretary, who is considered the friend, philosopher and guide of the panchayat. Moreover, social auditing is almost lacking in many panchayats because of poor functioning of the Gram Sabhas. A larger taxable income of the PRIs can activate the process of social auditing. If the people pay, they will ask questions about the income and expenditure of the panchayat.

Many parallel bodies are now a days sharing their functions with PRIs, which is not healthy for the effective empowerment. The Water Management Committees, Forest Committees, Private Voluntary Organizations (PVOs), Mahila Mandals, SHGs, Youth Clubs, etc., are functioning at the village level and are being given funds by government. However, in many cases the panchayats are not aware of the funds and activities of these organizations. This creates a confrontation between the panchayats and other developmental organizations. The panchayat being the highest constitutionally recognized decision-making body at the grassroots level should be aware of the functioning of these parallel institutions. A healthy relationship with the grassroots organizations will minimize confrontation and maximize co-operation.

Almost all state governments have established State Finance Commissions (SFCs). However, many states have not implemented the recommendations of different SFCs. Data from secondary sources reveal that the states have accepted the report but not implemented many of its recommendations. As a result, adequate funds have not been devolved to PRIs. The flow of funds to PRIs is not only inadequate but also irregular. Moreover, because of the lack of political will, many states have not entrusted PRIs with the power of taxation. Poor taxable income has resulted in dependence of PRIs on state funds, which are not received and even also politically motivated.

India has to learn a great deal from the European nations about devolution of functions, functionaries and funds to PRIs. CRRID is implementing a project on 'Capacity Building of Local Self-Government in Punjab' with co-funding from EU. As part of the project activities, study visits were conducted under the EU-India Small Project Facility Programme to a few EU countries. Observations made during the study visit reveal the following differences in the functioning of local self-government in India and EU countries (See Table 6).

Ironically, the 1992 Act, instead of clearly specifying the functions and powers of the panchayats, left it to the discretion of the state governments. The poor delegation of functions, finance and functionaries reveals that most of the state governments have hurriedly prepared their state Acts without giving much thought to 'empowerment' of PRIs on these lines. Already a decade has passed since the states enacted these laws. Now the time has come for them to take appropriate and speedy measures to fulfil the mandate of the Constitution regarding empowerment of PRIs. PRIs lack autonomy with regard to functions, finances and functionaries. In this respect the states have to replicate some of the best practices in EU countries. This has been echoed in the voice of the Prime Minister, Dr Manmohan Singh, while speaking at the Chief Ministers' Conference on 'Empowerment of Panchayati Raj' in June 2004. He said: 'Our challenge today is to institutionalize this system of local self-government to make India not only the world's largest democracy, but also to make it the world's most representative and participatory democracy.' The states have to make the necessary changes in their Panchayati Raj Acts to strengthen these grassroot democratic institutions in the sprit of the 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act. The inertia of the states is the agony of PRIs.

Table 6
Differences in Functioning of LSG in India and EU Countries

EU Countries	India
Local self-government functions according to Act of the Constitution and there are hardly any state interventions.	PRIs in different states function according to the respective State Panchayati Raj Acts and there is greater intervention of the state in the functioning of PRIs.
The functionaries appointed by the local self-government do the functions of the local self-government. Thus LSGs perform a supervisory and managerial role.	The functionaries of the line departments carry out majority of the functions of PRIs and representatives of PRIs only play a consultative role in many states.
The functionaries of local self-government are their own employees.	The functionaries of local self-government are largely employees of the state government.
Local self government institutions have total financial autonomy: • Tax income constitutes the highest source of revenue. • Subsidies given by the state are untied in nature. • Auditing of accounts of municipalities (rural) are done by private auditing companies. • All revenue of local self-government is untied in nature.	Local self-government institutions lack financial autonomy: • Grants received from the Central and Sate government constitute the highest source of revenue of PRIs. • Tax income of PRIs is very little in many states. • Auditing of PRI accounts is done by the Central and State governments. • A large percentage of the revenue of the PRIs in many states is tied in nature.
Elections to local self-governments are fought on party lines. Thus there is political accountability.	Elections to PRIs are not fought on party lines. There is no political accountability.
There is no reservation for women in local self-government. However, women's representation in LSGs is more than 30 per cent. This is done by creating an enabling environment for women. In other words there is natural political empowerment of women.	There is 33 per cent seat reservation for women in the PRIs. This forces participation and artificial empowerment of women. The functions of a majority of women heads of PRIs are performed either by their husbands or relatives.
LSGs constitute a Joint Municipal Board to carry out bigger developmental projects. In other words there is greater coordination between LSGs.	There is less coordination between panchayats and all act independently.
The LSGs in EU countries enjoy greater autonomy with regard to functions, functionaries and funds.	LSGs in many states of India do not have autonomy and they depend on the state government for functions, functionaries and finances.

Source: Based on a visit to a few European Union States

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Media in Nation Building

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Media and Social Change

Subrata Banerjee

My friend Rashpal rang me up last night and insisted that I should be the opening batsman in this session. You can well imagine how ill-equipped I am to play this role. Then, those who have anything to do with Rashpal would realize that he never takes no for an answer. So, he is responsible for inflicting on you, the reminiscences of an old man, who has spent the best part of his life in media and communication. Last night, a young Kashmiri friend of ours, Firdouse, was expressing his concern about destruction of our value systems, by the invasion of decadent value systems from the West. What are the media of this invasion? Print and electronic media? More the former than the later. I am not a puritan. I believe that fashion changes again and again.

There are a number of dimensions to this cultural invasion. In a rapidly integrating world, media are controlled, if I am right, by four transnational corporations. They own newspapers, publishing houses, radio, television, the music industry and the film industry. Through everything, they control, they mould our views, our tastes. This is the first dimension. They have close links with the advertising agencies and even control some of them. This is the second dimension. Advertising today is big business. It controls your life from the moment you wake up till the moment you go to sleep. I could list it — toothpaste, toothbrush, shaving system, soap, towels, every item in the bathroom, every item of breakfast, and all the other meals, the clothes you wear, the bed linen and mattresses, even the house in which you live. One of the effects of this has been, that the percentage of growth of consumer goods is higher in the rural areas today than in the urban areas. This has both a good effect and a bad effect. Advertising not merely sells goods and services, it sells a way of life. When you buy a pressure cooker, it is not only that cooking becomes easier, but washing of your cooking utensils becomes

easier. You may have time to spare now for other activities. I shall come to this later. The connection between the advertiser and the media is the third dimension. The media are commodities of a peculiar nature. There are two types of consumers — readers buy newspapers and television, etc., primarily for the information and also entertainment. The media sell space or time to advertisers. Advertising is revenue. Advertising revenue is the life blood of the media. Today, the advertising consumers consume more space and time of the media and influence our lives and value systems. Advertising also influences the content of the media. The print media are today imitating TV in printing more pictures, using colour and projecting fashions and the kind of consumerism that TV projects.

I am not competent to talk about the experiences of any other country or any other part of India but West Bengal. Here two cultures are developing or may be three, expressed through the media. One is blind imitation of the West. Another is a rediscovery, for instance, of our folk music and creating a new genre of music through its fusion with western pop. This kind of music is becoming very popular with the younger generation and often reflects social concerns. These new cultural groups, go by the general name of Bangla Band, though each group has a different name. As its offshoot, there is a new upsurge of pure folk music. Without electronic media, this new trend could not so easily reach out to a mass audience at different levels of society. This is a positive aspect of the revolution in communication technology.

At the same time, the competition between print and electronic media is making newspapers full of trivialities. To fill in the time many trivia become breaking news in the TV and reach front-page headlines. A destructive earthquake is equal to, if not less important, than the fate of a cricket personality. TV can provide us instant news bringing it live to the drawing room. It also attempts what it calls in-depth studies. These are nothing but ill-prepared interviews. What TV provides is ephemeral. A newspaper, particularly in the edit page, provides well-researched and perceptive in-depth analysis of developments and events. A newspaper article I can preserve. Now we have the computer. It has opened up new vistas of news and information. There is, however, a great deal of garbage on the computer screen. You can, however, select, store and retrieve whatever information you need to use. You can run it for exchange of information. It can be a powerful weapon for development. It can be a tool for distant learning and

contribute to social transformation and development. We can all be participants in such a process. The computer can be used for interactive communication.

The video has become another medium for development work, for rousing the consciousness of the people. We are holding a seminar here and many useful developmental ideas are emerging. A properly edited video film of this could be screened, say in Kolkata, as a starting point for another seminar of this kind, which could bring up fresh ideas. What is more, if you do this sort of work in villages and you hold a meeting or a group discussion among the rural people at one village, you can record it and take it to another village as an exchange of experiences and the starting point for more discussions. In this connection, I am reminded of an experience of the Indian Space Research Organization, when the satellite education programme was first started. They would go with video cameras to the villages, and let the people use the cameras and see themselves projected on screen. It gave them confidence to use the camera. Then they began to produce their own material for the video and this was broadcast from the Ahmedabad television centre. Through this process of interactive communication many problems came up. These problems could thus be projected more easily to the authorities. My friends told me that in this way they acted as facilitators. They could go upto a point. The people could then take over and go ahead and realize the developmental desires and aspirations.

I will now turn to the role of advertising in development and nation building. Today, it has moved away into an esoteric world from the days immediately after independence. In those days advertising had a more national character. In its presentation it played a role in nation building. Take the introduction of new machinery, for example, for industrial development and linking industry to daily life. I spent 14 years of my professional life in advertising. I remember that we did a steel campaign. Through that campaign, we sent the message to the people of the place of steel in every day life, directly or indirectly. The text of the first advertisement of the series was the translation of a song from a very remarkable play about social transformation by Rabindranath Tegore. The song spoke of tribal workers bringing to life the iron ore that lay in deep slumber for centuries and transforming it into material for daily life. Satyajit Ray designed the series of advertisements. He had a wonderful feel for Indianness. He could project through Indian designs our Indian value system, whatever we

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wanted to say about development processes. Today, advertising is a copy of western advertising. It is part of the campaign to build a common value system, create a world in the image of the hyperpower, United States of America. Even Europeans are protesting against this homogenization. A world with one face would kill the diversity that enriches human civilization. This is against Nature. Can you imagine a situation, of looking outside your window, to see only lush green and nothing else? It is the various shades of green, and the flowers, that soothe your eyes. Homogenization is the enemy of humankind. This is what the modern print and electronic media and especially advertising are doing.

Nation building in the ultimate analysis means, changing the way of life of the masses, raising their consciousness. Advertising can play a very positive role in this context. Today a farmer, by pressing a switch can make water flow in the field. Today he does not have to sing, '*Allah megh de*'. Lord give us water. The song is still very beautiful, and is still sung. Science has come to the aid of the farmer to build his own future. However, is he aware of science in his life? Is he aware of how science is helping him to build his own future? This is where advertising can come in, especially in the electronic media, and through the video film medium, to make people conscious of what human beings can achieve through science and technology today. Bringing electricity to the villages is another area, where advertising has a great role to play. When we introduce cooking by gas to a village housewife, it is a revolution like the pressure cooker in the urban situation. Advertising in this case is selling a way of life, the use of gas for cooking and its advantages. The housewife will now have more time, to give expression to some of her inherent creativity, in making artifacts for sale. The woman could become a major income earner, an individual in her own right. She will have time to engage in public affairs in the Panchayat system. Advertising can help her to go in this direction. It is not enough to bring about this ability. At the same time advertising will also have to sell a product to her, the gas stove and how to use it, just like selling clothes or soap, for instance. In this case, advertising is selling both products, and a way of life that will help in nation building.

The question that one hears from our midnight's children is: what have we achieved in more than five decades since independence? A very vital and a very valid question. The print and electronic media and advertising have important roles in bringing home to our people,

what they have achieved, in terms of the kind of existence that their parents had lived. This is usually considered as propaganda for government. Development is not news, scams are. Acts of common efforts by rural people to improve their living conditions are not news. A communal massacre is. All the development that has taken place is really the result of the efforts of our brain workers, and manual workers and peasants of this country. Making them aware of their own achievements would give them greater confidence in themselves and help their greater participation in nation building. The media have been investigating different types of financial scams, but not how the topmost industrialists get away by not repaying their loans from the banks. There is also need for the media to monitor the progress of a development project and make sure that all the impediments in the way of its completion or implementation are reduced, if not removed. There is really very great scope for investigative journalism in this area. It is time for media professionals to ask themselves how they look at their profession. They have to be part of the nation building process. They have to be responsible communicators.

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The Role of the Media

Amita Malik

I have had the privilege of being asked to trace the role of the print and electronic media, a subject very close, I am sure, to the heart of the late P N Haksar who, as a diplomat and adviser to the government, had to deal throughout his distinguished career with the media. And he did so with elegance and understanding. The four aspects of this role that I intend to pursue are nation building, the development process, governance and communication. I felt it would be best to take these four aspects medium by medium, since they vary so much in their aims as well as their methods.

First, the print medium, the oldest of the three and, because it can be enjoyed only by those who can read and write, the most elitist. From its early beginnings, the Indian press had a very important role, beginning with the freedom movement. James Augustus Hickey, who founded the pioneering *Hickey's Gazette*, also known as the *Bengal* or *General Calcutta Gazette*, made an enemy of no less than Warren Hastings, who hounded him and put him in jail. It is not surprising that Hickey died in penury. The independence movement saw top leaders such as Mahatma Gandhi and Maulana Azad editing widely respected papers. The Indian press also stood up during the Bengal Famine, and there were some spirited opposers of the Emergency. When Rajiv Gandhi, as Prime Minister, tried to bring in an oppressive measure to control it, the entire Indian press, from eminent editors to junior reporters marched in protest near India Gate in the capital. Although the English press was dominant until recently, the Bengali paper *Ananda Bazaar Patrika* and *Malayalam Manorama* of Kerala topped circulation figures. In recent times there has been a tremendous upsurge of the Indian language press, notably the Hindi press, *The Hindustan* of Delhi having set the pace by having the first woman editor, Mrinal Pande, to head it.

After the Emergency was over, India saw the rise of weekly news magazines, such as *India Today*, and *Outlook*, with Indian language editions as well. Much more lively and critical of all things Indian, particularly politics, than the somewhat staid family paper, *The Illustrated Weekly*, or sensationalist weeklies such as *Blitz*. The new paper for exposes, *Tehelka*, seems to follow the sensationalist line, but with responsibility when required. Unfortunately, some newspaper proprietors have decided to treat newspapers as a purely commercial commodity, with advertisements taking precedence over policy and the editor's position downgraded to sorry limits. Food, fashion, films and females, according to one such proprietor, should take precedence over such topics as culture and the arts, books, and everything but sports and politics. Luckily, in spite of all this, such proprietors remain in a minority.

Fears that television (TV) would kill the newspapers has proved to be false so far. TV may be quicker but what TV cannot overtake are editorials and edit page articles written with reflection, specialist articles on serious topics, reviews of culture and the arts done in depth and the ability of newspapers to be re-read and preserved when TV has disappeared from the screens. The press still retains its role as the watchdog of the nation.

Television, with all its faults, remains with two great advantages in India. People who cannot read and write can still see and hear. India, with the largest film industry in the world, is a country where the cinema has been the largest medium of mass entertainment. When TV came in, the ordinary Indian looked on it as a little cinema at home and this in-built audience has been television's greatest strength. It has been a valuable force in the functioning of democracy in India. My maid, after watching the noisy scenes in Parliament on TV said angrily, 'this is just a *Jhagra Ghar* (House of quarrels). I shall not vote for that man in the next election.' In India, TV also seems to have great importance for the government and political parties. Every party in power has made full use of Doordarshan, the so-called autonomous TV organization, to push party propaganda as well as individuals. In South India, particularly, in Tamilnadu and Kerala, TV channels are run by political parties. Another recent phenomenon on TV, with the rise of private channels, has been the rise of programmes which poke fun at politicians and sometimes they are as sophisticated as NDTV's political satires, *Double Take* in English and *Gustakhi Maaf* in Hindi, where

puppets of prominent politicians, including the Prime Minister, chief ministers and party leaders are mercilessly lampooned. NDTV sent a team for training to Paris before launching the programme, as French TV leads the world in marionettes on TV. Indian TV is constantly winning international awards, a tribute to its professional excellence. Its soaps and entertainment programmes tend to cater to the lowest common denominator, and advertisements clutter up programmes to distraction. It will no doubt improve in this sphere as people become more educated and demanding.

This is where Doordarshan has done rather better. Its programmes for the rural areas, such as *Krishi Darshan* which interests farmers and rural folk, sometimes with phone-ins, have given valuable tips on farming, the weather and allied subjects, which no private channel has tried.

Where Doordarshan has failed dismally, however is in reaching out to the rest of the world. Its programmes for important border areas, such as Kashmir and the Northeast have lacked both technical reach and programme quality. Pakistan, China, Thailand, Indonesia and other countries have cashed in on government's neglect. Remedies, based on intensive viewer research, have to be speeded up before we lose the race for viewership, which cannot be fobbed off with film songs and poor serials.

Radio, which remains a state monopoly, except for a few FM stations, has done rather better, as it started under professionals such as Lionel Fielden of the BBC during British days and then Professor A S Bokhari, who then went on to the United Nations. It has done splendidly for farmers and a better variety of rice, which it introduced in its programme for farmers' is still known as 'Radio Rice'. It also has long sessions of classical and semi-classical music, which private TV stations have left severely alone. FM channels have also provided a vast choice of popular music with superior audio quality. It also, but not always with either good technical quality or quality presentation, has programmes for women and young people, spheres not invaded by private TV channels, which wean away young people with superficial programmes.

Above all, in a poor country, people who cannot buy TV sets can always buy a transistor radio, which runs on inexpensive batteries where villages have no electricity. How well radio operates for those neglected by TV was proved when I came across two wonderful

instances. The first, during the Emergency, when the government had blacked out all unfavourable news. Driving down from the Indian Institute of Advanced Study in Shimla, where I was writing a book, I stopped at a little wayside tea shop. The man said, as he handed me a glass of milky, sugary tea: 'Kuldeep Nayyar has been arrested.' 'Where did you get that?' I asked in amazement. Because I had been listening to All India Radio in the car while driving and it had not mentioned a thing. The man dangled a little transistor radio near me. 'I got it on the BBC,' he said. The BBC was the only foreign station operating on medium wave and had scooped for Indians the news of the arrest of an eminent editor. The tea-wallah had beaten me, a professional, to it.

Then during our war with Pakistan in 1971, I escorted a British colleague from the BBC to a little village outside Delhi. The young village school teacher gave a triumphant smile as I asked him 'How do you get the real news about the war?' 'That's easy', he replied 'I listen to both Indian radio and Pakistan radio and divide by two.'

Well, one is not surprised that radio still has the highest statistics for audiences in India. Both the cinema and television command far lesser audiences.

If TV did not kill the press, it did not kill the radio either. It proves that glamour is not all. As Mahatma Gandhi said about radio: 'It is Shakti.' As usual, he was right.

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The Yuvavani Experience

Rita Mukherjee

I will be presenting my experience of working with *Yuva Vani*. I think it was the best thing that could have happened to our media. Way back in 1969, I remember distinctly one sentence from what Mrs Gandhi said to the youth, at the sprawling Vigyan Bhawan auditorium. She said that we should all be talking about how to create social responsibility, ensure responsible reporting, raise standards, ethos, moral values, etc. This is what she had to say to the youth. I still remember her words, 'The whole of your life is ahead of you, so you have to be forward looking, you have to be proud of your heritage, of your culture, and you have to be absolutely fearless.' I am afraid that fearlessness is missing. As for the majority, there is something or the other missing, while reporting, As Subrata Banerjee has just pointed out, the reporters have links with some one, secretary, some minister or some other person, and the reporting is biased. I will confine myself to my experience of working with *Yuvavani*. I was privileged, I would say. May be, the young people who are doing exceedingly well today are a product of the service. They had the opportunity. I will say they were all *'Heere ka Tukra'*. I still remember a particular programme called The Firing Line, where we would invite Ministers or writers or other controversial people. Some young students and non-students too, would fire questions. I must say that was a kind of training ground for the youngsters. And what is happening now is very good, apart from the situation after the coming of Prasar Bharati. Now everything is left to the market forces, as Subrata da pointed out. Much of what is happening is not as it should be. One more thing. A large number of NGOs have come up and there is what you call community radio, especially in Uttranchal. They interact with people in their limited areas. They talk about ayurveda, how to preserve the herbs and how to protect the environment. Some good things are happening. *Yuvavani* happened. I am sorry to say that it is not functioning very well at the moment. There is another channel,

D D Bharati coming up. As Dua Sahib has also pointed out, technologically we are very good now, but the software is not as it should be. The FM Channels are marching ahead. The point is: what are we dishing out? I think we are polluting the minds of our people. So there arises the question of responsibility, social responsibility, that should be there in any programme producer, interviewer, reporter. I think, most of the experienced people sitting here have to take a view on how to lift the media from this degeneration to a greater height. How to go about it, I do not know.

Need for an Internal Control Mechanism for the Media

Harmeet Singh

I am not a media person or connected in any way with any news dissemination machinery. I will share my experiences and perceptions as an end user of the output of the press, newspapers, television and Internet.

The power of media has never been in question. It can influence the key policy makers by swaying the public opinion on various national and international issues. It has the ability to play a significant role in spreading awareness about various developmental issues. It also highlights the various ills plaguing our society. In India, barring a few brief spells, media have largely had a free run. This freedom is all the more evident today with the advent of a multitude of newspapers, private television(TV) channels, radio stations and Internet. Too much of this freedom is now causing some serious concerns.

Technology has outpaced journalism. Television has become the provider of raw news, because of live reporting and in an effort to be the first with the news; exaggerated, unanalysed facts are often reported.

No discretion is exercised in the reporting of disaster news. Graphic descriptions and photographs of hanging, suicide, accident victims, etc., are prominently splashed. Watching too much disaster coverage is adversely affecting the viewer. Similarly, juicy photographs, videos and clippings are unleashed without restriction on unsuspecting children.

There are two sides to any event — two ways to interpret it: one positive and the other negative. Newspapers and journalists seem to specialize in negative reporting.

Intruding into the privacy of any citizen has become a norm. No restraint is exercised in publishing the most private details of an

individual. Competition creates the need to produce something with shock value, something that will be remembered, something *chat-pata* (sizzling) so that people are back for more.

In a country with tremendous inequality, indifferent or poor governance, and worrying societal trends, there is a whole range of reporting that simply does not get done, because it means harder work, more news gathering expenses, and more reporters on beats. The problems run deep — digging them up and exposing them for action is a thankless task.

In a bid to have more advertising pages, miscellaneous bits of information are served up to inform, satisfy curiosity and meet the small town hunger for both sensational and neighbourhood news. Media do not connect events with processes.

Another major issue today is ethics of what the media devote space to, and how they allocate their manpower. There are beats for restaurants and fashion, there are no beats in most newspapers for agriculture, labour, education, infrastructure, or health and whatever little exists caters to the up-market urban class.

Today the media are all too powerful. Accountability is anathema to media. There is fierce opposition to any watchdog body. No dispute resolution mechanisms are operative. Newspapers have not appointed an ombudsman to receive complaints from the public on the newspaper's functioning. They do not have codes of conduct which are actively implemented. They do not have a firm corrections policy, to dictate fair display for the corrections that newspapers should carry after they have damaged somebody's reputation. There are hardly any debates in the media about the performance of media.

An irresponsible government can be brought down through a no-confidence motion in Parliament. But there is no mechanism for the readers to discipline an irresponsible pres.The media hold all rights to publish or not to publish. Readers cannot get even a denial or a rejoinder published as a matter of right.

Suddenly there is significant media presence. But there are no financial or intellectual resources to monitor what the media do on an ongoing basis. In a free and democratic society everything must have reasonable controls.

Censorship has been the most misused and regressive type of control. It defeats the very purpose of having a media. This has never

been successful in achieving anything meaningful and does not merit any further discussion.

The Press Council of India enshrines the noble concept of having press councils to ensure that the reader is not short-changed by unscrupulous or shoddy journalistic practices. They provide a platform to ventilate grievances against biased, inaccurate or inadequate reporting on matters of legitimate public interest.

However, experience has shown that they are largely ineffective. Petitions drag on before the Enquiry Committee, for several years. They have little or no legal teeth to punish the guilty. At the end of the day they are not delivering enough to be effective and trusted.

Peer reviews of what the media is doing are few and far between. Little or no mechanism exists for this kind of monitoring. In India we do not have the concept of a press ombudsman. There are no codified media ethics in place. There are no statutory media audits on the reporting and coverage by a newspaper or a television channel.

Monitoring websites: There are perhaps only a few websites like *The Hoot* and *India Together* which regularly publish articles on the aberrations in media coverage and failings of the media.

The more developed countries are very much evolved in the area of media ethics. Our media are still young, our regulations still in the pipeline. Until then it is better to have internal mechanisms in place rather than those enforced from outside. In my considered opinion the best form of regulation is voluntary and self-imposed.

Self-regulation has none of the complications of law — but still provides a system in which publications are committed to the highest possible ethical standards. As a part of this mechanism newspapers, TV channels and websites can help.

Spell out guidelines for advertorials, government orders and advertisements, health and medical matters, opinion polls, photographs, use of religious and casteist terms, selection of newsworthy stories, privacy of individuals, suicide reporting, suppression of names of sources, witness payments, etc.

Invite complaints through phone, email or mail by stating so in the media.

Create a voluntary forum of representatives from the public, industry, government, media and the judiciary but independent from the editorial and management to speedily look into complaints and

deliver a verdict in seven days. Publish the complaint and the decision verbatim. Take action against the errant journalists and in case of bogus complaints highlight the same.

This mechanism would be effective only if it has the ability to take action. This would bring about accountability for the newspaper and ensure transparency for the public.

Definitely, the media have the potential to unleash all the positive energies that are held together by 'we the people'. They must create a commonality of interests between themselves and the readers. They must deliver to the audience information that empowers and is not guided merely by commercial interests.

They have also to understand their ever-increasing responsibilities:

- Responsibility of being honest, impartial and fair.
- Responsibility of exercising restraint and discretion.
- Responsibility of protecting privacy and innocence.

All this must come from within and not reach a stage when this has to be enforced externally.

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Role of Media

H K Dua

Before Independence the Indian media had a specific role. I am talking about the newspapers that grow up along with the freedom struggle. They had missions to accomplish and one mission was that India must be free. They showed courage to aim for freedom. Along with this they also had a social mission: that the society must fight against caste and superstition. They wanted India to be a 'modern free nation'. There was a general consensus on these questions. Each newspaper, whether small or big, contributed towards this vision of a New India.

After Independence, the media began to enjoy the fruits of freedom. There was some consensus on nation-building. The debates and issues centered on building a New India, with new political, social and economic agenda — a grand vision. Big dams began coming up, industrialization was taking place to create jobs and fight poverty. Whether the economy should be mixed or otherwise was among the issues seriously discussed after Independence — and for years .

The media's technology has immensely improved. Papers these days are vibrant, and television channels are reaching homes. Subrata has spoken about consumer culture and that as a nation we have become slaves to advertising. He has also referred to trivia, which have crept into the media. My view is slightly different.

The media are not really reporting the people. This is equally true of most of the press — and I am a part of the press — print media as well as the electronic media. The TV channels are of recent origin here and do not have the long history of the print media of 200 years plus. Most of the media persons are, frankly speaking, not reporting India. If at all they are reporting India, they are reporting the Shining India, not the non-Shining India.

Some people are projected in a big way on television and in the print media. They get more time, more space. Their activities, or what they say or do, do not really have the kind of impact on the situation on the ground, as is projected by both print and electronic media. The impact of the electronic media is little more, because of their visual character and appeal.

Caste has continued to exist for 5,000 years and yet there is no campaign by the media against casteism. Corruption is news, a sex scandal is news sounds jazzy. But the media are not discussing how corruption is affecting the common man. They are not bothered about it. Only the sensational aspect of corruption becomes news. No papers are really fighting the misuse of religion for political ends. Often vital issues of the people are not discussed. Communalism is not being fought by the media, as it ought to be.

These are the serious problems affecting the social and political fabric of the country. These have no predominant place in the media. Raja Bhaiya is news; D P Yadav is news, for two days. On the third day he is forgotten. Then it is Abu Salem. It certainly is a big story, but, what about other Abu Salems? All that is ignored, only the sensational part matters. What criminalization is doing to society, politics, business; the links between criminals, local businessmen and politicians, whether it is in the city of Mumbai or whether it is in Bihar or U P, are not matters of interest to many papers.

What about poverty itself; how many stand in the queues of employment exchanges, which do not give job; they just stamp the registration card, which has to be renewed after every two months! Nobody reports the despair of the jobless. They just write that seven districts of Andhra Pradesh have come under Naxalite's influence and that Naxalism has become a menace in Jharkhand, or is already there in Bihar and has now spread to Chhatisgarh, parts of Maharashtra, and some districts of Madhya Pradesh. Nobody is going into the root of the problems, the social economic conditions that breeds Naxalism.

Who is reporting about the drinking water shortage in the country? Chunks of the population remain illiterate despite fifty-eight years of freedom. Housing: what is being discussed about real estate prices around the metros or the emerging cities? What about the homeless? There are no toilets in the villages or in the slums in urban areas. But the media are not very sensitive to such issues.

The papers are brighter but what about the soul, the character of the Indian media? May be it is because of the consumer culture and the craze for more advertising. May be, when we joined the profession, journalism was a means to serve the society. These days media has just become merely commercial and profit-making ventures. This possibly is leading to the loss of the soul and the character. The mission is getting lost in the glut of footage or the number of the papers, which are proliferating. There are many reasons but the profit motive is the main cause.

There is the question: who are closer to the people? National dailies, I find are distant from the people — distant to the extent that sometimes they are indifferent. The regional papers are closer to the people; they understand local problems, they understand the local mood, but, there are local influences which prevent them to really stand on their own feet and fight for the people. Often the smaller dailies cannot take a stand. Most regional dailies, mainly language dailies, suffer from a dearth of trained journalists. They are improving. Some of them are very robust now. Papers like *Ananda Bazar Patrika* in West Bengal and *Malyalam Manorama* or *Matribhumi* in Kerala, compete with the English papers. They are the best among in the profession. But some dailies in regional languages, are wanting in professionalism as well as trained manpower. They have to travel a few miles. That should be encouraged. But even they are now falling prey to commercialism. For getting some more advertisements from State governments, from local industrialists, they can come under pressure to sell their freedom. Some of them do. Others, who are economically viable, resist pressures. Papers like *Ananda Bazar Patrika* and *Malyalam Manorama* will not bow to State Governments. That is why they are run more professionally. And the new generation has taken over.

There are other trends in states like Gujarat, a prosperous state. After the demolition of the Babri Masjid, or the Ayodhya Movement, local newspapers built their circulation by fanning communalism. *Gujarat Samachar* and *Sandesh* in the wake of Ayodhya Yatra and Babri Masjid demolition tried to encash aroused passions of the people. The situation ultimately led to Gujarat riots, where about a thousand of people were killed and the government could remain unmoved. Meanwhile the papers had built their circulations.

On the question of the Freedom of the Press: freedom is never given; it is exercised. In big business papers, you have to be particularly

careful. Editors have to ensure that they exercise their freedom. There are sometimes clashes, some situations that you have to face. Even when the choice is between freedom and retaining your post, then it is better to exercise freedom. It really depends on the individual conscience of the Editor. There are some people who go to the extent of parting company, than sacrifice their freedom. Others will say, well proprietors are giving better salaries; more bucks have been offered; well life is good. They are more practical. So the response varies from Editor to Editor. But, as a matter of principle it is better to exercise freedom than enjoy comfortable life.

Managements are not the only threat to freedom. It comes from the advertisers, from the Government and so many other sources. Essentially it is a matter of the conscience of the Editor. I have noticed the editors with a conscience do not survive for too long in big business papers. The turnover in this profession is luckily very high. That means there are people who cherish their freedom. I joined *The Tribune* precisely because big business does not own it. It is run by a public trust. There are no profit motives. The Trustees leave you alone but they expect a sense of responsibility from the Editor. That is how it ought to be.

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The Challenges of the Global Information Society

Hanna-Leena Hemming

Eighteen months ago, the Committee for the Future at the Finnish Parliament decided to look into the future challenges of the information society. Obviously the scope of interest was primarily in the survival of the Finnish welfare state. Finland in 2004 was still to a great extent the same as Finland in 1975, with the only difference that typewriters had been replaced by computers. However, huge threats were looming in the near future and concrete action was required.

In close co-operation with Dr Pekka Himanen and Dr Manuel Castells from the university of Berkeley, California, the committee then conducted a study whose results can be regarded as universal. The results can be transformed to suit most information societies, despite the fact that different countries would seem to have different problems and be at different levels of information society.

But first, what do we mean by information society?

Prof Manuel Castells and Dr Pekka Himanen define information society as a creative society, which is based on interaction between people. It is of paramount importance to notice that, with this definition, information society is not merely new technology but a new way of doing things.

At the time of launching the Committee for the Future's report at the Finnish Parliament, the results were considered unexpected. The readiness of the audience to discuss the fundamental changes in the society was strongly hampered by the international competition about the spread of broadband connections and the boastful number of cell phone users in Finland.

However, information society is not about the number of cell phones and broadband connections per capita. It is a whole new way of seeing society and the needs of people.

In the global development of the information society, we can identify a few major trends that are already in a strong process. The first one, and at the same time the most serious challenge is the deepening global divide.

The vast majority of the world still remains unhooked from the digital revolution. With the ever-widening gulf between knowledge and ignorance, the development gap between the rich and the poor among and within countries has also increased. It has, therefore, become imperative for the world to bridge this digital divide.

The situation can and must be changed by changing the structures of world trade and by bridging the information divide. Next week the United Nations will hold the second phase of the World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS) in Tunis. The scope of interest of the WSIS will be in alleviating the digital divide at a country level. This is extremely important because, in my opinion, inequality and the feeling of being left behind and outside can be a seed of terrorism as well.

However, within each country great numbers of people are threatened to be left outside the digital revolution. Literacy and education will play the main role in making the information society all inclusive. The basis for education, training, research and development is a comprehensive, high-quality education system. Younger generations will first have the advantage of using computers skill at schools, just like a great number of people with jobs. Two groups of people are easily left outside the technological revolution, namely pensioners and women.

As a woman coming from Finland it might seem that my worry about women is ungrounded. Literacy rate for both sexes in Finland is 100 per cent. Finland is clearly at the top with other Scandinavian countries in women's equality. Finnish women actively take part in work outside the home, their level of education is higher than that of Finnish men, out of present university students 54 per cent are now women. In some faculties, like medicine, it is around 70 per cent, and among teacher trainees, which is a higher level university training in Finland, it is close to 100 per cent.

For a modern country which is aiming at even greater creativity and better level of innovations, the problem is clearly not women's lagging behind but their choice of subjects and faculties. Women still

choose rather conservatively the jobs within the caring industry such, as doctors and nurses or within various educational institutions. The number of women in jobs in the public sector outnumbers that of men three times. For a wider spectrum of creativity, women's better rationality and their skills in human relationships would be needed in a much broader variety of disciplines, particularly engineering. The society must provide equal opportunities for everyone to realize their potential. Therefore, women must, also in countries like Finland, be actively urged to enter the formerly male fields of study and work.

Our present era is characterized by the new global division of labour. Routine work goes to cheaper countries. The most developed countries must specialize in creative work that is based on higher expertise and work to improve productivity, both through increased added value and the production of processes. However, the advantage the developed countries have here is a matter of a few years at the top.

Combined with the next point, increased pressures on the welfare state, it is clear that societies are facing challenges they have not encountered before. Population ageing, which is a major problem in all European Union (EU) countries and some Asian countries, naturally leads to problems in financing the welfare state, both because of an increase in direct expenses and a rising dependency ratio. The International Monetary Fund has estimated that Finland will be the first country in the world where the majority of voters are over 50 years of age. That will be the situation in Finland in 2010 — in five years.

At the same time, with this, global tax competition and the new global division of labour put increasing pressure on the state. The only way to build or maintain a welfare society is to improve productivity through innovations, i.e., through creativity.

And that leads to our next trend: The rise of cultural industries. The information economy is expanding particularly in the field of culture. This process is affected by the digitalization of the content, etc.

Creative economy will also bring new business sectors to the market. Economic activity must be looked for in areas where creativity can make a difference. This will happen in the cultural sector, such as music, television, film, interactive media like computer games, literature, design, and learning materials and also in the sector of well-being.

Success in these areas in global competition requires increased financing of creativity. The leading countries are investing almost four

per cent of their GNP in national research and development activities within these sectors. Currently the approximate figure for Finland is 3.5 per cent, equalling five billion euros. To give a comparative figure, Microsoft's R&D budget was 6.8 million euros in 2004. However, we may not lean upon completely new industrial sectors, we also need to reform the existing ones, including agriculture, for instance.

With these changes we reached the second phase of the innovation society: from technological to social development. In the first phase, technological development, such as network connections, played the main role. In the second phase this technological development will naturally continue but the focus has shifted to larger social matters and the main focus is on the ways in which we operate.

The world's leading supplier of Internet connections, American Cisco, claims in its recent study that the new ways to operate, using Internet connections, will lead to a great shortage of network experts in Europe within just three years. The use of the Internet will not be limited only to sending e-mail or browsing the net. These network experts will not be the nerds or computer engineers but experts in various fields of working life.

According to Cisco's 12-country study, more than half of small and medium sized businesses view competition as the primary business challenge and the catalyst for investment in advanced technologies. Faster broadband Internet access, security, wireless mobility solutions and IP telephony were identified as 'must have' technologies for the next three years. Technologies, including videoconferencing (16%) and mobile 'smart phones' (20%), however, are considered as 'nice to have' over the next year, although the growth in demand is expected over the next three years.

In step with larger enterprises, technologies that improve productivity of mobile workers are seen as increasingly desirable across Europe.

The best evidence for the speed of change in our world today is the fact that we are now, just 18 months later, already showing signs of entering into the third phase of the information society. Not in every aspect of society but with a few spearheads.

The third phase of information society is characterized by the rise of bio-industries. Genetic engineering will become another key technology besides information technology. Medicine, biotechnology and welfare technology are other examples of emerging fields.

The phrase 'converging technologies' refers to the synergistic combination of four major provinces of science and technology, namely information technology, biotechnology, nanotechnology and cognitive sciences, each of which is currently progressing at a rapid rate. The aim is to improve human performance. What was science fiction yesterday is reality today.

What is vitally important for the development is regional concentration. For the first time in history, the world's urbanization rate has exceeded 50 per cent. This means large concentrations of expertise which, in turn, account for increasing proportion of innovations and economy. Strangely enough, remote work and telecommuting have long been praised in Finland. The true benefits seem, however, to be found in the opposite direction — in the close co-operation and exchange of ideas of scholars and researchers with a multitude of cultural backgrounds.

My last point is the spread of a 'culture of emergency'. The pace of development is accelerating. It will increase the volatility of economics and thus create a 'culture of emergency' in workplaces. This, in turn, will lead to deepening social gaps, which increase social tension and instability, which again, will fuel the emergency culture. This trend is characterized by increasing instability. Therefore, the challenge is to achieve development that is sustainable in both human and environmental terms.

Is this a complete list of challenges? Probably not. Should I have included terrorism as the separate challenge? From a Finnish perspective, no, but from a global perspective, maybe. However, the big challenge is how innovations and creativity advance growth and support humanly meaningful development. And if life is humanly meaningful, as is the main aim of information society, it does not offer space for dissatisfaction that would lead to violent outbursts and terrorism.

Globalization and technology can be seen not only as threats, but also as an opportunity for one country to find one's place in the world village. It is truly a possibility when tackled right. Instead of staying at a stagnant level, we must aim to improve every person's opportunities to lead a good life.

Pluralism: Contemporary Relevance and Imperatives

Contemporary Relevance and Imperative of Strengthening Pluralism

Indra Nath Choudhuri

Plurality, it is said, is the basic ethos of Indian culture, which defines for us our Indian identity. There is no doubt that an Indian lives with many identities. You can be a good Bengali, a good Hindu or a good Muslim and a good Indian all at once. These identities do not exist as a structure of opposition but as a hierarchy within the structure that can harmoniously coexist. The singular thing about India is that you can speak of it only in the plural.

However, religious fundamentalists today contest this idea and define India as a homogenous exclusive and belonging to one community, which is based on an absolute sense of culture and historical past or on India of minor analogues and exclusive communities based on the doctrine of segregation and separatism. However, it is difficult to replace the pluralistic cultural tradition in which India has always discovered its Indianness and identity.

There is no doubt that the Godhra incident of burning people in a closed railway carriage was barbaric, but when, as a reaction, riots broke out in Gujarat then the whole country stood up as a solid block to register its protest. We never fell into the insidious trap of agreeing that, since partition had established a state for the Muslims, what remained was a state for the Hindus. To accept the idea of India you have to spurn the logic of the two-nation theory that had divided the country. Our idea of plurality, pluri-religiousness, our idea of establishing the importance of both region and nation, our idea of inclusiveness, are all part of our culture. In the *Karma Purana* we find Hindu thinkers reckoning 'with the striking fact that the men and women dwelling in India belong to different communities, worship different gods and practise different rites'.

This plurality is a self-conscious feature, which recognizes not merely the existence of differences but also seeks to find some kind of commonality in these differences. In other words, Indianness consists in the perennial endeavour directed towards the optimal achievement of pluralistic universalism. Jawaharlal Nehru has put it in beautiful words:

> Though outwardly there was diversity and infinite variety among our people everywhere there was that tremendous impress of oneness, which had held all of us together for ages past, whatever political fate or misfortune had befallen us. The unity of India was no longer merely an intellectual conception for me: It was an emotional experience which overpowered me.

However, this unity is not a melting pot like America, a synthesis or amalgamation of diverse identities but it is like an Indian *thali*, as said by Shashi Tharoor, a plate full of a selection of sumptuous dishes in different bowls. Each tastes different and does not necessarily mix with the next, but they belong together to the same plate and they complement each other in making the meal a satisfying repast. The important thing is that a Victor Banerjee or an Abu Basar or a Sunil Gangopadhyaya or a village boy Kanu or a village girl Jabunnisa still sing the same songs and dream the same dreams together, which they inherited from their culture, the composite culture of thousands of years. Pluralistic universalism always introduces a space for discussion, a dialogue on divergent issues, religious, social and political, but in a democratic way to justify pluralistic differences and at the same time seeking for some universal oneness.

This is the reason that in the Upanishads what we get is dialogue, challenging dialogue, sometimes heated dialogue — when it comes to discussing religious matters — but still a dialogue, not without the threat of physical force as explained by S Radhakrishnan, but still without resort to physical force. We are all well acquainted with the tradition of *sastrartha* within Hinduism.

It will, therefore, be wrong to say that India has been retaining the ethos of harmony of multicultural practices, perhaps without any conflicts or protests. Indian intellectual, social and religious history is full of differences, conflicts and protests and there has always been space for all these diverse opinions to exist and India has always

acknowledged the differences. In fact, Indian unity is based on its acknowledgement of real differences yet seeking some basis of unity.

Sunil Khilnani makes the point that people living in different regions with diverse ways of living in pre-colonial India did share intelligible, common cultural forms, derived from *shastric* and *loukika* sources. The storehouse of shared narrative structures embodied in the epics, myths and folk stories, and the family resemblance in the styles of art, architecture and religious motifs — if not ritual practices — testify to a civilizational bond, and a certain unified coherence in lives in India.

It is a marked feature of the Indian mind that it seeks to attach a spiritual meaning to all and hence hierarchically puts its true spiritual self over the nation. In fact, this notion of the self is central to our idea of plurality. Giving credence to plurality means you love everybody, you do not hate any one, you find the supreme residing in everybody and that supreme and the self are one and the same. This is aptly described in the Upanishads. One, who perceives all the beings in own self and own self in all the beings, does not hate any one any more:

Yastu sarvani bhutani atmnnyevanupasyati

Sarva bhutesu chatmanam tatona bhiju gupsate

This is the distinctiveness of the philosophy of India. The distinction arises from the fact that from the earliest times the subcontinent has been aware that distinctness lies in its diversity. Pluralism is an established feature of life in India and a defining feature of its Indianness.

Indianness can be perceived in the plurality of thought and ideas, in the feeling of togetherness of the people of India, which is not determined by political exigencies but by what is known as the feeling of communality that runs through centuries. The feeling of communality is a part of Indian consciousness, which shapes Indian identity. The Indian consciousness at any given time, as says Manoj Das, cannot escape its psychic inheritance traceable to its tradition of grand creativity, the Vedas, the Upanishads, the Epics and the Purans and also its robust tradition of pragmatic lore, the *Brihatkatha*, the *Jatakas*, the *Kathasaritsagara*, the *Panchatantra*, the folklore, the songs of a Hindu or Muslim mendicant, words casually uttered with conviction by one's parents or the village teacher. This consciousness has, thus, evolved itself with spiritual sublimity and has become part of the idea of communality.

Pt Nehru says that our unity is the unity of heart and mind, which makes us feel like a large family, which has to be defended, which has to be worked for and which will lead us to co-operate with one another. This feeling of communality is as old as Indian civilization. It is this sense of communality, which is the force unifying the Indian people and their activities, social, religious and intellectual.

The idea of communality is manifest in the joys and sorrows we experience when good or bad things happen to India and Indians. It is in the jubilation we have when India wins an international sports event or an Indian, say, Amartya Sen, wins the Nobel Prize. It is in the pain we feel when we read about the twin blasts in Mumbai, the Bhopal tragedy or the death of a senior army officer in a terrorist attacks in Kashmir. It is in the pride we have for the Ajanta caves, the Taj Mahal and Tagore literature. It is in essence the overpowering emotional experience of being Indian that Pt Jawaharlal Nehru refers to as being independent of 'intellectual conception'.

The plethora of sectarian, or religious clashes and movements for secession or autonomy attack the very basis of plurality. They reflect periodic breakdowns in the ability of the state to convince sections of its people that their economic and political aspirations are met within the state structure. The demand for separate identity, says Shashi Tharoor, is symptomatic of the desire for self-realization rather than an ultimate objective in itself. Each group is just saying, 'give us our space, in which we can feel we belong, we call the shots, we determine our own fate'. Now political theorists and leaders have begun to think very seriously whether the cause of national unity would be served better by strong and self-confident regional units and by conceiving the Indian State as a whole made up of wholes. Already a step has been taken by re-introducing the idea of Panchayati Raj or local self-government, long feared by the modernists, as the root of India's traditional 'spirit' of 'localism' and fragmentation, which has now become quite popular and as a result the dominant model of centralized, parliamentary democracy has been appropriately modified and a distinctly Indian variety of democracy has emerged, which is not only important to India but relevant to the new world of plurality.

Tagore was one of the few Indians who made federalism an important part of his concept of national ideology. Tagore warned us that the effects of true civilization could not be imbibed from Europe.

He did not want Indian society to be caught in a situation where the idea of Indian nation could supersede that of Indian civilization and where the actual way of life of Indians would be assessed solely in terms of the needs of an imaginary nation-state called India. He said, 'If God had so wished, he could have made all Indians speak one language...The unity of India has been and shall always be unity in diversity.'

In a nation-state with a pluri-lingual society, it is important to be aware of local as well as national needs. Exclusive concern for either dominant or minority interests is bound to hurt both and destroy society.

Even in a federated nation, the argument that more freedom of action should be given to regions, and at the same time, the centre should also be powerful, can be contested. It is almost like walking on the thin edge of a sword. It needs tremendous expertise, both at the regional as well as the national levels. One who knows how to do this balancing act knows how to give prominence to local identities and at the same time create a space so that local identities do not forget that they have to be part of the national identity or they have also a national identity based on the participative democracy of this country.

Whatever political ideology the nation may espouse, India's pluralistic culture has always rejected the view of the proponents of monolithic unity, of the ideology of one culture, one language, one nation — Hindu, Hindi, Hindustan — which in effect destroys the unity of the people. We never fell, as said earlier, into the insidious trap of agreeing that since partition had established a state for the Muslims, what remained was a state for the Hindus. Our ethos of plurality always came to our rescue.

However, in the last two decades of the last century the definition of Indianness is in fierce contest: Religious fundamentalists are struggling hard to plunge the nationalist's imagination and create a homogenous, exclusive idea of a monolithic nation. The secessionist movement of the fundamentalists is attacking the very core of India's pluralistic universalism.

The Indianness outlined in the two decades after 1947 was an extemporized performance, trying to hold together divergent considerations and interests. It tried to accommodate within the form of a new nation-state significant internal diversities, resisted religious fundamentalism and looked outwards. In other words, Indianness did not consist in one being a Hindu, a spiritual seeker, or 'dividual', or in

one's subscribing to the *purusharathas*, one's religion, language, culture and the community in which one grew up. One's religion, language, culture and the community in which one grew up are no doubt relevant to one's personality but the Indianness can be located in one's categorization based on culture, ethnic and other factors and self-definition as an Indian and the consequent emotional bonding and sharing of certain sentiments and feelings with fellow Indians.

Indians have to come to understand that while they may be proud of being Muslims, Sikhs, Christians or Hindus, they will be secure as Muslims, Sikhs, Christians or Hindus only because they are also Indians. In other words, it is their Indian identity that gives them the framework within which to satisfy their material needs. The institutions of political and economic democracy are the only ones that can provide each Indian with the sense that his interests can be pursued fairly and openly alongside those of others. Strengthening those institutions is the vital task of the twenty-first century.

We all know that the true Hindu ethos is inclusionist, flexible, eclectic and absorptive and all-embracing, but Hindu fundamentalists are now in the process of breaking these emotional bonds and generating a sense of self-enhancement by establishing their Hindu identity rooted in their self-defined religious Hindu ethos alone, invoking deep suspicion among the minorities. Islamic fundamentalists are taking advantage of this situation to spread their secessionist movement.

The central challenge of India, as we enter the twenty-first century, is the challenge to confront both Hindu and Islamic fundamentalism. The battle for India's soul will thus be between the secularist Indianism, the true eclectic and pluralist morality of different religious traditions as propagated by saints like Nanak, Kabir, Sufis, Chaitanya Mahaprabhu, Sri Ramkrishna Paramhansa, Swami Vivekananda, Mahatma Gandhi and many others, and the particularist so called Hindu fundamentalism and Islamic extremism.

We are all minorities, says Shashi Tharoor, in independent India. No one group can assert its dominance without making minorities of the majority of Indians. If upper-caste Hindus agitate for Hindutva, a majority of Hindus are not upper caste; if North Indian in the cow belt clamour for Hindi to be the only 'National language', a majority of Indians do not speak it as their mother tongue and so on. India's strength is that it is a conglomeration of minorities using

democratic means to ascertain majority opinion on the crucial questions of Indianness and others.

This is why the change in the public discourse about Indianness is so dangerous and why the old ethos must be restored. An India that denies itself to some of us could end up being denied to all of us. The only possible idea of India is that of a nation greater than the sum of its parts, an India that accommodates vast diversities and is yet greater than the sum of its contradictions. At the end, let us again come back to culture which defines our Indianness and which is synonymous with *dharma*. *Dharma* is the key to bridging the present gap between the religious and the secular in India. The social scientist, T N Madan, has argued that the increasing secularization of modern Indian life is paradoxically responsible for the rise of fundamentalism, since 'it is the marginalization of faith, which is what secularism is, that permits the perversion of religion. There are no fundamentalists or revivalists in a traditional society.'

The implication is that secularism has deprived Indians of their moral underpinnings — the meaning that faith gives to life — and fundamentalism has risen as an almost inevitable Hegelian anti-thesis to the secular project. The only way out of this dilemma is for Hindus to return to *dharma* — to the tolerant, holistic, just, pluralist Hinduism articulated so effectively by Swami Vivekananda. To discriminate against another, to attack another, to kill another, to destroy another's place of worship, on the basis of his faith are not part of our *dharma*, as they were not part of Swami Vivekananda's *dharma*. Says Swami Vivekananda:

No one form of religion will do for all. Each is a pearl on a string. We must be particular above all else to find individuality in each. No man is born to any religion; he has a religion in his own soul. Any system which seeks to destroy individuality is in the long run disastrous. The end and aim of all religions is to realize God. The greatest of all training is to worship God alone. If each man chose his own ideal and stuck to it, all religious controversy would vanish.

It is time to go back to these fundamentals of Hinduism. It is time to take Hinduism back from the fundamentalists. It is also time to tell Islamic fundamentalists about the true nature of Islam. The affirmative principle of human diversity is described in the *Koran* (109,1-

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5) which reminds people that this human variety is not a source of inevitable tensions but is indispensable for various traditions to define their beliefs, values and culture and come to terms with their dizzying diversity:

> O Prophet, you proclaim to the people
>
> Who do not accept your preaching,
>
> What you worship, I do not worship,
>
> And what I worship, you do not worship;
>
> ....
>
> The result of your actions belongs to you,
>
> The result of my actions belongs to me.

A P J Abdul Kalam refers to another similar saying from the *Koran* in his *Ignited Minds* that all God's creatures are his family; and he is the most beloved of God who tries to do most good to God's creatures. Abdul Kalam then says something very startling — that he got this reference from the *Koran* from his friend who is a Deekshidar of Tamil Nadu and a Ganapathigal, Vedic scholar, and concludes that such a catholic outlook of an all-embracing mind is possible only here in India because of a consciousness nurtured by its culture, which says: *ano bhadrah katavo yantu viswatah* 'Let noble thoughts come to us from all sides.' What is now cause for concern, says Abdul Kalam, is the trend towards putting religious form over religious sentiments and then question why we cannot develop a cultural context for our heritage that serves to make Indians of us all. What we need today is a vision of Indianness for the nation, based on plurality of thought and ideas which alone can bring unity and prosperity. In this regard let me quote Shashi Tharoor that if the overwhelming majority of a people share the political will for unity, if they wear the dust of a shared history on their foreheads and the mud of an uncertain future on their feet, and if they realize they are better off in Kozhikode or Kanpur dreaming the same dreams as those in Kohlapur or Kohima, a nation exists, celebrating diversity and freedom.

In the end may I relate a story, rather a mini story, by a distinguished Urdu writer, Jogender Pal, which deeply reflects the harmony of the cultural plurality of the Indian people? After all the culture of a nation is known by the stories which it possesses as its heritage:

An old Sikh woman had two sons. She would stay with any one of the two sons for some months and then go to stay with the other one. Both looked after her well. It so happened, as she came to stay with her younger son she requested him to take her to a Gurudwara every morning so that she could bow her head and pray in the name of the Supreme Lord, *Ek Omkar*, before starting her day. The Gurudwara was a little away from the house but the son took her in his car, she bowed her head and prayed and came back, but in the course the son was late for his office. The second day the same process followed and again the son was late for his office and the mother came to know about it. On the third day the mother said to his son, *kake, menu Gurdware le jan di koi jarurat nai, menu pata chalya hai pas hi masjid hai, mai othe jake mattha tek lavangi.* My dear son, you need not take me to the Gurudwara. I have come to know there is a mosque nearby. I will go there, bow my head and pray.

Re-visioning Socialism in a Plural Age

Sobhanlal Datta Gupta

I have rather deliberately chosen this somewhat unorthodox title, keeping in mind the late P N Haksar's abiding interest in socialism, Marxism in particular. He died in 1998 with a feeling of deep anguish, as the world turned virtually upside down after the fall of the Soviet Union. This paper is an attempt to understand what went wrong with socialism in the twentieth century, an age marked by pluralism and increasing diversification of knowledge. The central argument of the paper is that notwithstanding socialism's compatibility with pluralism in its original vision, socialism failed because of its inability to negotiate the question of pluralism. In a way this is a tribute to the late Shri Haksar too, who himself possessed a creative mind with a pluralist temperament.

The collapse of socialism as a practice in the last decade of the twentieth century has evoked two major, yet contradictory, responses. First: socialism failed, because, following the advent of *perestroika* and *glasnost* under Gorbachov, it was infected with the virus of pluralism, the beginning of which was made supposedly by Khruschev in the Twentieth Congress in 1956; second: socialism's failure is attributed to the fact that it was not sufficiently pluralist, notwithstanding Gorbachov's efforts to democratize the Soviet system. In fact, in the last days of the Gorbachov era, these two opposite positions were represented by Nina Andreyeva and Boris Yeltsin respectively. While the first position is generally considered Stalinist, the second position is an advocacy for liberalism. Understandably, there are very few takers of the Stalinist understanding today and socialism's failure is thus traced primarily to its alleged refusal to accommodate pluralism. The defence of pluralism is espoused, however, by not only liberalism but also by postmodernism, notwithstanding postmodernism's rejection of the implicit assumptions of liberalism and its defence of a radical pluralism

in its advocacy of the idea of multiple identities and refusal to accept the idea of any kind of closure/boundaries.

This paper is an attempt to establish the following: one: socialism has no conflict with pluralism and thereby the Stalinist position is utterly mistaken; two: pluralism under socialism has to be viewed in neither liberal nor postmodern frameworks. To be more exact, while the socialist tradition has historically contained within it the potentials of pluralism, the practice of socialism has nullified their realization. This leads to exploration of three interrelated issues. First, what are the markers of pluralism in the history of revolutionary socialism? Second, what led to the erosion and marginalization of these elements? Third, how to restructure socialism by resurrecting the lost elements and contesting the liberal and postmodern variations of pluralism? The following sections of the paper will address these questions.

Understandably, all these questions require to be explained with reference to the internal history of Marxism itself, to be more precise, to its inner dialectics. Throughout its history Marxism was characterized by two leading thrusts, namely, humanism (the notion of subjectivity) and science (the notion of objectivity) and in course of time the two trajectories became separated, eventually leading to the overwhelming domination of the scientific over the humanist tradition in the actual practice of socialism. The humanist thrust originated with the early writings of Marx, with emphasis on alienation and a radical notion of freedom, anchored in Marx's discovery of the proletariat as the revolutionary subject of history. It is this thrust of Marx's thought which constituted the cornerstone of the ideas of Rosa Luxemburg, Lukacs, Gramsci, Korsch, that is, the whole tradition of western Marxism. It is this tradition which got a booster in the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU (1956), followed by the ideas of Prague Spring (1968), Eurocommunism and the advent of the Gorbachov era under the slogan of *perestroika* and *glasnost*. Rooted in Marx's original vision of freedom, it was an understanding which contested the atomistic notion of individualism, stemming from liberalism, and focused on a radical meaning of freedom which viewed the individual with reference to the social collective. This was the politics underlying Marx's emancipatory project, which had deep moral significance and which forcefully questioned the acquisitive ethics of capitalist society. Pluralism in Marx, which was deeply latent in this understanding, was derived from this

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radical notion of freedom. It evoked the idea of celebration of the freedom of the oppressed, the unfolding of their creative energy in all possible directions, aiming at the birth of a new order, the immediate aftermath of the October Revolution being one of its finest examples.

This focus on radical subjectivity, however, was severely compromised by the shift away from the first to the second trajectory. This refers to the reduction of Marxism to the status of science, with emphasis on the anatomy of capitalism as an economic system and the rhetorical proclamation of the infallible collapse and the inevitable victory of socialism. This was an understanding which can be apparently traced back to the shift in Marx's writings from philosophy and history (his early and middle period) to his investigation into the hidden notion of surplus value, his exposure of the false identification of labour and labour power and the scientific unveiling of the distinction between appearance and essence in capitalism. For Marx, however, the meaning of this method signified a rejection of both empiricism (which recognized no distinction between appearance and essence) and metaphysics (which made an absolute of certain abstractions unrelated to reality). In Marx's original vision there was no conflict between the first and the second trajectory, since his so-called scientific method was in a way an expression in the realm of political economy of his earlier projection of the philosophical and historical idea of how the proletariat, the revolutionary subject of history, attains its own subjectivity.

This leads to the exploration of the other question, namely, how this integral outlook of Marx's thought broke up. The answer lies in the subsequent reduction of Marxism to science in a positivist sense, whereby it became virtually teleology, an exercise in determinism, stripped of its transformative spirit and thereby its dynamics. Marxism became a set of immutable principles, almost akin to the laws of natural science, and while this understanding is generally associated with the leaders of the Second International, notably Kautsky, to some extent Engels, in his attempt to establish the true claims of Marxism vis-a-vis its adversaries, created the impression that Marxism was virtually a kind of Social Darwinism. Its immediate consequence was rationalization of a universalist framework, focusing on the infallibility of the laws of historical development. Lukacs has attributed the rise of Stalinism to this 'hyper-rationality'[1], a proposition which provides the clue to the understanding that the valorization of this 'scientific' outlook led to the snuffing out of the notion of pluralism, difference and dissent

in the practice of socialism. While there is no doubt that the practice of Bolshevism eventually became an exercise in determinism, its nature was quite different from the kind of passivity that characterized the deterministic outlook of the Second International, leading to a theoretical justification of the postponement of the idea of revolution in countries other than those of the advanced West. As the Russian Revolution stood alone as the only model of socialism in the crucial period between the two World Wars, historically the ground was prepared for universalizing the Bolshevik experience and idealizing the Soviet model, the institutional expression of which was the Comintern. That this would prove counterproductive was implicit in the warning of Lenin against this attempt on the part of Comintern to universalize the Russian experience, in his report to the Fourth Congress of Comintern in 1922[2], which remained ignored. While the notion of determinism, which became associated with Soviet Marxism, has to be largely explained in terms of the unique historical configuration of forces that gave birth to the October Revolution and its aftermath, it would be absolutely wrong to conclude that the working out of Marx's second trajectory in the practice of Bolshevism objectively necessitated the burial of pluralism. The suppression of dissent and difference was largely the effect of a subjective factor, namely, the power struggle within the Bolshevik Party after the death of Lenin and the consequent ascendancy of Stalinism. To be more exact, the victory of socialism in the backyard of Europe in the face of unprecedented opposition from within and without universalized the Bolshevik model by default, historically providing no scope to critically differentiate many of its inhuman and undemocratic practices from its revolutionary potential.

It is the suppression of the pluralist and democratic elements in the practice of socialism which has given birth to the liberal and postmodern critiques. In the aftermath of 1991, if socialism has to survive in the twenty-first century, what is necessary is to recognize the following: first, the meaning of pluralism under socialism has very little in common with the liberal and the postmodern variations of pluralism. Second, there is a rich component of pluralism within the revolutionary socialist tradition itself, which has remained ignored and which requires to be revitalized. Three: this involves the process of going back to the humanist, democratic and ethical core of Marx's thought.

Socialism does not see eye to eye with liberalism's preference for unqualified pluralism in the name of freedom, since socialism does, indeed, stand for a particular kind of society, for a particular set of

values, for certain projects of emancipation and social justice, attaching priority to the social collective. Similarly, socialism has serious problems with the postmodern variation of radical pluralism notwithstanding postmodernism's irreconcilable conflict with liberalism. This requires a closer examination on several counts. Postmodernism contests the Marxist understanding of any meaning of history, since it is against teleology of any kind. History in the postmodern frame is fluid and indeterminate, and it is endowed with a plurality of meanings. For postmodernism the vision of socialism/communism is passe, since any such universalist and totalizing frame, grounded in reason, represents the notion of domination, creating conditions for a totalitarian takeover. Consequently, postmodernism is deeply sceptical of the universality of class struggle as a rational and macro principle for the explanation of history. Instead it focuses on the micro-local struggles waged, for instance, at the subaltern level of society. For postmodernism revolutions and revolutionary parties, as central theoretical concepts, have little relevance, since the postmodern frame of reference is an outcry against any macro concept on the question of social transformation. Thus, the postmodern view of history has its emphasis on difference, fragments and deconstruction as against Marxism's emphasis on the necessity of replacement of a totalizing bourgeois perspective by an alternative revolutionary totality where the working class, as the revolutionary subject of history, takes up the responsibility of emancipating the whole of society by emancipating itself.

The legacy of revolutionary socialism contains rich clues whereby these radical pluralist claims of postmodernism can be effectively contested. These may be briefly summarized as follows. First, by taking the cue from Fredric Jameson, one can argue that micro/local struggles cannot be delinked from the macro concept of revolution, since the battle against the forces of reaction and counterrevolution in the age of globalization cannot be waged by endorsing the postmodern war on totality, that is, by refusing to understand capitalism as a whole, as a global system[3].

Second, in a world virtually bereft of the presence of socialism, the postmodern valorization of heterogeneity per se may very well encourage a mood that would question the necessity of any counter global/homogenous outlook/ideology called socialism. This drive for heterogeneity, as Jameson further points out, has unleashed a process that breeds 'hyperindividuality that effectively decentres the old

individual subject by way of individual hyperconsumption' and acts as a powerful stimulus against the whole notion of socialism, planning and collective ownership, all lumped together and fantasized as centralization[4]. Besides, once these slogans of heterogeneity and difference gain almost a sovereign status, they can be very successfully used to defend fundamentalism of the worst kind, a danger against which Amartya Sen has warned us[5].

Third, postmodernism in its critique of any kind of foundationalism and in its defence of indeterminism acknowledges no closure in its understanding of freedom, since all closures and boundaries are oppressive. This provides the rationale for the postmodern attack on notions like totality and universality which are violative of freedom, an understanding that Eagleton characterizes as endorsement of the classical liberal view of freedom, buttressing the 'end of ideology' thesis[6]. For Marxism the understanding is that it poses these questions dialectically, that is, heterogeneity in relation to homogeneity, difference in relation to unity, freedom in relation to responsibility. Marxism's messianic vision of building up an alternative society of the future thus recognizes the notion of closure as an aspect of freedom itself, where closure constitutes the parameters of social responsibility arising out of individual actions. In other words, this is a vision which considers the exercise of freedom as an ethical act[7].

Fourth, the Marxist understanding of history does not provide any neat storyline, as is often believed, nor can it be described as a colourful disorder. History, of course, is the unfolding of a plurality of struggles at multiple levels, which is not denied by Marxism, but what it aims at is their coordination and linkage with the ultimate macro understanding of the revolutionary transformation of society. One possible explanation underlying postmodernism's rejection of the notion of universality and its concern for plurality and difference lies in the argument of Eagleton that when a radical movement makes its headway, its epistemology is likely to be conditioned by its practice[8]. Later this is universalized, leading to the marginalization of the specificities of the struggle, creating thereby the impression that Marxism denies plurality, difference and locality in its concern for the macro and the universal.

Fifth, it is undeniable that in the practice of Marxism the universalist element has been often overemphasized, and this in a way validates the postmodern allegation that Marxism is vitiated by a kind of essentialism. While there is a point in this argument, in revolutionary

socialism's project of building socialism a distinction has to be made between the elements that can never be accommodated under socialism and the ingredients which would constitute the foundations of socialist pluralism. This act of drawing a distinction between the essential and the non-essential under socialism, of course, carries a big risk, since its contour would be ultimately decided by those in charge of the regime. This is a pandora's box, since, once unleashed, pluralism may end in the end of the system itself, as the experience of the Soviet Union under *glasnost* and *perestroika* testifies. Its mishandling may also result in what happened at Tienanmen, and a complete denial of pluralism would give birth to the tragedy of Stalinism. In other words, the crucial theoretical question which socialism has to address is: how to accommodate pluralism within the essentialist project of building socialism without, however, acceding to essentialism? What becomes perhaps deeply relevant in this context is the question of hegemony, so aptly described by Gramsci, for the reason that the legitimacy of such closures and the consequent drawing of the dividing line between essentials and non-essentials can be made credible in the eyes of the people only by hegemonizing socialism and not by resorting to practices that lead to Gulag or Tienanmen.

It is evident that much of the postmodernist criticism of Marxism emanates from the way Marxism is projected as a kind of metanarrative, an overarching project that does not, as if, recognize the notion of difference. Ironically, Marxism is one of those few traditions in the history of thought which has witnessed most intense and creative debates on the shaping of its various components. The debates in the First and Second International, the polemics within the Bolshevik Party before and after the October Revolution, the debates in the Comintern, the inner-party debates that take place within the Communist Parties from time to time are cases in point. But it is also undeniable that in the name of projecting Marxism as a scientific doctrine, the differences are never highlighted, which produce the sense of closure. This is reflected in the practice of the Communist Parties too. As traditionally the Communist Parties have been accustomed to read and interpret Marx through the manuals, a trend that found its consummation in *A Short History of the CPSU(B)*, the Party's understanding of an issue is always projected as a unified understanding, which actually means the majority viewpoint. Consequently, the official position gets universalized, the notion of difference (the minority viewpoint) is blacked out, and this is how the metanarrative is born. Therein lies the

problem of how democracy as well as pluralism become a casualty in the Communist Party, how the Party is eaten up by the virus of dogmatism and how the emancipatory project of Marxism, mediated through the manuals, is reduced to a kind of fundamentalism. It is this fundamentalist version of Marxism that explains the Moscow trials, the Gulag, the expulsion of the so-called 'dissidents' who refused to be fitted into this metanarrative, whereby the Party is systematically drained of its finest intellectual and organizational resources. I am immediately reminded at this point of Maurice Cornforth's *Communism and Philosophy* (1980), a most severe indictment of this manualized Marxism coming from the pen of a Party intellectual who himself once wrote the very wellknown manual *Dialectical Materialism* in a period when dogmatism snuffed out everything[9]. While it is true that the culture of manualizing Marxism was essentially a Bolshevik phenomenon and which was appropriate for a brief period in the specific Russian conditions, the subsequent codification of Marxism and its universalization largely sealed the fate of the Communist Parties in the years that followed. As Foucault has pointed out in one of his last interviews that it is this all-pervasive, universalist and dogmatic orientation which characterized the French Communist Party and, this, in turn, generated movements like formalism and structuralism in the 1960s in France, which expressed the voices of difference and protest[10].

It is, therefore, high time that the importance of the tradition of difference within the Marxist tradition, that is, the voice of the minority, the words of the repressed, the silenced and the marginalized have to be recognized. Marx has to be rescued from the trappings of the manuals, from the frame of discipline and surveillance set by the Party and this is how one can think of countering the postmodern allegation that the Marxist tradition is nothing but a grand metanarrative, which refuses to provide any space to pluralism. This is what Rosa Luxemburg described as the 'freedom to think differently', an outlook which is reflective of the idea of tolerance of the opinion of others within the framework of socialist ideology. It is in this spirit that Lenin conducted the debates in the Bolshevik Party as long as he was alive, a legacy which was further enriched by the contributions of Gramsci, Korsch, Bukharin, Thalheimer and others, but which the Communist Parties have preferred to eschew, endangering thereby the image of socialism in public life.

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[2]Lenin said, 'At the third Congress, in 1921, we adopted a resolution on the organizational structure of the Communist Parties and on the methods and content of their activities. The resolution is an excellent one, but is almost entirely Russian, that is to say, everything in it is based on Russian conditions. This is its good point, but it is also its failing. ..... I have the impression that we made a big mistake with this resolution, namely, that we blocked our own road to further progress.' VI Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, Moscow, 1967, p. 725.

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Cultural Plurality, Nation-State and Social Change

B L Abbi

Cultural pluralism and multiculturalism, despite their different provenance and initial historical developments, have come to be increasingly used interchangeably by social scientists and others to discuss broadly similar set of issues related to the modern nation-states. As is now widely recognized, there is hardly a modern nation-state which is not characterized by cultural diversity, India being of course the most diverse among them. The issues relating to the proper relations between diverse cultures within the nation and the nation-state itself, as well as between the different cultures themselves, especially the dominant majority culture and minority cultures, the characterization of the state as multicultural or multi-ethnic or multinational, whether the national integration policy should be assisimalationalist or mindful of preserving the identity and integrity of different cultures and consequences of these different policies for the integrity, cohesion and development of the nation-state are some of the issues which figure prominently under these headings.

While the issue of social and cultural recognition of minorities in a state has always been to some extent a part of statecraft and political economy of the state, with the so called cultural turn in western social theory as well as in societies since the late 1980s, as John O' Neill points out, there has been a 'shift away from political economy toward a politics of identity, recognition and voice in the cultural sphere and in a shift within political economy away from traditional issues of power, property and distribution towards a treatment of the economy itself as a cultural sphere of consumption' (1999: 76). The weakening of the nation-state and the increasing liberalization and globalization of the economy have further increased the salience of the issues relating to cultural recognition as well as of identities based on gender, sexual orientation, etc., to the neglect of reduction of economic disparities through the

restructuring of state economies. While the emphasis on the neglected issues of culture, gender and sexual identity, because of a hitherto disproportionate concern with class, may be understandable, the increasing neglect of the issues of redistribution becomes particularly inexplicable, in view of the growing economic disparities in the world, with the rich becoming richer and the poor becoming poorer, both in the developed and the developing world.

Related to the issue of culture is the overwhelming concern with ethnicity, ethnic groups and their dynamic relations with the nation. Here too, there is a displacement of older concerns with issues of economic and social deprivation and instead a growing sensitivity about matters relating to symbolic recognition. The disenchantment with the nation-state and the secessionist sentiment may, in certain cases, be motivated more by the ambition of attaining sovereign status rather than justifiable grievances regarding economic and social neglect. The ambition may be due to an unmet desire for symbolic glory, or what the group concerned may deem its destined or otherwise justifiable role among independent nations, which its present position in the nation-state denies it. Most commentators on ethnicity, or nationalism, ignore this aspect of group political ambition. They rather stress the group's justifiable reaction to economic and social deprivation or state oppression. Culture is of course a broader concept than ethnicity. Ethnicity, as T H Eriksen contends is primarily concerned with the communication of cultural difference in a setting marked by cultural plurality. Eriksen further stresses that ethnicity is always a property of a particular social formation in addition to being an aspect of interaction. He, therefore, points to the need to look at ethnicity at both these levels as well as investigate the historical and social circumstances in which a particular ethnic configuration has developed. The emphasis is on difference rather than similarity. Thus, the group selects as markets of difference certain cultural or other features which it regards as distinctive of it — both in relation to the relevant other culture or cultures, or the world at large. Usually the features selected as markers may be language, religion, race or physical features, region or localities, or distinguishable cultural features. Since the emphasis is on the communication of cultural difference, the markers may change without affecting the ethnic group boundary maintenance. However, the markers are neither totally arbitrary nor without social and cultural significance (TH Eriksen). Moreover they

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are very relevant for understanding the dynamic relationship between the ethnic group and its social, economic and political context.

Paul Brass on the other hand, in the context of Punjab in relation to the Indian nation-state, defines ethnicity as the 'subjective, symbolic or emblematic use by a group of people of any aspect of culture in order to create internal cohesion and differentiate themselves from other groups'. In this way the ethnic group is transformed into a self-conscious ethnic community Thus ethnicity is to ethnic category what class consciousness is to class (Brass 1991:19 cf. Mukherjee 1999:53). He further adds that in the political arena ethnicity can operate both a) as an interest group (to improve the well-being of the group members as individuals), or b) (to go further, the corporate rights may be conceded to the group as a whole), which may include 'a major say for the group in a political system as a whole or control over a piece of territory within the country of their own with full sovereignty', (Brass 1991:19-20 cf. Mukherjee 1999:53). Using this framework, he tries to account for the formation of ethnic-centred nationalism, and state-centred nationalism both of which he sees as multi-ethnic entities arrived at through mutual accommodation of the ethnic groups involved, or the state playing a role to ensure state-centredness of nationalism. For Oommen, a combination of instrumental ethnicity, emanating from material deprivation and symbolic ethnicity related, to the anxiety about cultural identity, together with a territorial base, could lead to ethnic state formation.

Mukherjee, while providing a critique of Oommen and Brass type of ethnic-centred nationalism feels that the framework is too narrow and leaves out an important type of nationalism — the civic non-ethnic nationalism — having basis in class, gender, secular interest groups, etc., which constitutes the spirit of Indian nationalism as distinct from ethno-nationalism characterizing the Pakistani state.

Mukherjee's emphasis is much more on the historical particularity of Indian nationalism and its centredness in the Indian, or more precisely, South Asian civilizational values and traditions and in particular its non-ethnic liberal egalitarian ethos. He further suggests that the anxiety about loss of cultural identity or of cultural oppression or the state's homogenizing tendency is exaggerated. On the contrary, states have often facilitated the proliferation of ever new cultural groups rather than stifling them. The critical variable as he suggests, is

'the form of the nation-state... democratic or totalitarian or fascist'. He further argues that in view of the mobility of populations of the modern world very few territories are strictly homogeneous and this could make majoritarian ethno-nationalist states more prone to intolerance of minority ethnic groups. Further, making an analytical distinction between state formation and nation building he makes a corresponding distinction between a crystallizing nation-state and a crystallized nation-state, and argues that the process of crystallization is generally characterized by internal strife and conflict. However, the end product of crystallization is neither static nor fixed forever, contradictions and conflict remain and the nation may be vulnerable to dismemberment and disintegration.

Mukherjee's point of view about the possible multiple bases of nationalism is quite valid and so is his argument that in the Indian context and perhaps elsewhere also, there has been a disproportionate emphasis on ethno-nationalism to the relative neglect of the scholarly considerations of non-ethnic civic nationalism, the latter being of particular relevance to India. In addition, his analysis of significant commonalities between the above two kinds of nationalisms is also illuminating. He points out that in multi-ethnic societies even the so called cohesive ethnic groups are usually divided by the external ties of members to members in other groups and class inequalities or other exploitative relations within the group. 'Every member of ethnic or "secular" groups is a complex of particularistic and universalistic values in different ratios' which again can change with time, space and context. Therefore, in a polyethnic country this does not mean that civic nationalism is 'ethnicity-free', rather it suggests it is 'ethnicity-transcending' (1999:61). In addition, he contends that given the asymmetries and contradictions characterizing any social system, a social movement arising out of a primary contradiction in any one (or more) of the domains, will necessarily have interfaces with other contradictions within the same or other domains. Thus, an ethnic movement may have a class\power\gender interface, while a class movement may have ethnic\power\gender interface, and so on. (Example: Naxalite movement, Naxalbari peasant revolt, Bhojpur movement, Gorkhaland movement, Ayodhya phenomenon) (1999:62). Finally, stressing India's unique complexity of culture and structure, he opines, 'it would be surprising if it has an easy passage into becoming a

crystallized nation-state. There are simultaneous contestations of ethnicity and ethno-nationalism, of class interests, of gender issues, over eco-environmental dangers, of sheer concerns of state and non-state forms of oppression that are seeking their resolutions. We are experiencing secessionist insurgency movements (Kashmir and the North-east), movements related to development and displacement, farmer's movements, Scheduled Castes and tribal movements, backward caste movements, gender movements now for parity in power sharing, eco-friendly movements which stand vigil on degradation of nature, and so on. India has experienced the process of ethno-nationalisms stablizing as incorporated ethnicities, resulting in structural elaboration of the socio-political system' (1999:64).

I have taken a long detour to describe the economic, social, cultural and political contexts, both regional, national and global, within which ethnic, religious or other cultural groups have to operate, both in contestation and collaboration, to sustain and promote India's cultural plurality. The rhetoric of pluralism highlights its significance as emblematic of India's liberal and tolerant cultural ethos, as well as its indispensability as a means of building a democratic and egalitarian national policy.

The policies and programmes of the nation-state in respect of television, films, press and other media regulation, urbanization, industrialization, agricultural development, prices of inputs and crop procurement, devolution of powers and finances to Panchayati Raj bodies, health care, family planning, gender equity, despised or stigmatized sexual expression, censorship, affirmative action in favour of deprived castes, religious groups and other forms of minorities, are all relevant factors that need to be taken into account, in particular whether or not they seek to promote plurality, democratic ethos and egalitarianism, or they result in the exacerbation of inequality, authoritarianism, or intolerance. However, in the present day world which is characterized by globalization, liberalization and the expanding regulatory sphere of the World Trade Organization, cultural diversity is perhaps less likely to face homogenizing pressures from the regulatory policies of the nation-state than by the accelerating transnational flows of commodities, lifestyle, ideas, values and fast changing fashions in virtually all aspects of social and cultural life. The predominant direction of these flows is from the developed countries of

western world to the developing and the least developed countries, though this certainly is not a one-way traffic. There are also somewhat asymmetrical flows among countries within each group. It is a moot point whether such flows will bring about dull uniformities or exciting possibilities of socio-cultural and aesthetic innovation. Both trends are visible and show, for the present at least, a promise of variable outcomes. One thing is, however, certain, the rates of change in most walks of life are gaining speed. This does complicate enormously the problem of preserving the currently cherished social, cultural, religious, aesthetic and other values, as well as norms, institutions and practices.

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Debates on Pluralism and Implications for Multiculturalism in a Globalizing World

Shalina Mehta

From Clichy-sous-Bois outside Paris to Cronulla beach in Sydney, societies across the western world appear to be afflicted by the same problem — race riots, which serve as a reminder that they have been unable to successfully integrate migrants from the Third World. These are not just speed bumps on the route to globalization. Some of them can loom like mountains — witness 9/11, when Islamist fury lashed the US. Dynamic western economies undergo certain demographic shifts which leave them with a shortage of young workers, while Third World countries typically have abundant people and few jobs. Migration to the affluent West might seem the logical solution, except that people are not just economic actors working rationally to maximize their individual self-interest, but culture-bearing beings as well. Migrants feel uneasy in the land of their hosts, while the latter feel their generosity is being stretched by having to accommodate vastly different values.

Multiculturalism, which gives people hyphenated identities, is a common recourse to English speaking countries. But it has not achieved uniform success in resolving these problems. There are regular racial riots, for example, in the north of England in cities with a large immigrant presence. India is, in a way, an early experiment in multiculturalism — by allowing different communities to have their own personal laws it goes further than most countries. It cannot be claimed, however, that India is a haven of communal tolerance. The argument against multiculturalism is that by allowing

different communities to lead their own separate lives, it fosters ghettoization rather than points of common contact. French secularism takes a different tack — it does not recognize ethnic or religious identity, but recent riots turned migrant-populated areas of French cities into no-go zones, blowing the lid off the notion that France's coloured minorities are any better integrated than in other parts of the western world. France's problem is that the non-sectarian principle does not extend to housing, jobs and government, where the English speaking countries offer, generally speaking, a fairer deal. Globalization cannot work, perhaps, without some sort of universal culture, but it has to be very different from what exists today, providing as much opportunity to Third World peoples as it does to white citizens of affluent western nations.

(Editorial, *The Times of India, New Delhi*, Tuesday, 27 December 2005)

It is unusual for a social scientist to open a debate in a rather arrogant academic circuit with a full text citation of an editorial in a daily paper. I read the editorial almost three months after I presented the first draft of this paper at the International conference that attempted to map issues confronting globalizing world order.

The transition from colonial to 'neo-colonial' or post–modernization societies, witnessed numerous debates on multi-culturalism and multi-ethnicity. Different nation-states had different takes on it. Some like the French opted to generate institutions in which individual religious, racial, ethnic and linguistic diversities had no official space. A uniform cultural and civil code was popularized, albeit it had its limitations. What emerged was a political order that was not sensitive to what the editorial calls 'hyphenated identities'. India on the other hand always had a tradition of not only 'multiculturalism' but 'pluralism' in which linguistic, cultural, ethnic and linguistic identities irrespective of numerous situations of inter-community conflicts found political and local spaces for survival. The political systems that remained equally diverse were never in their entirety focused on eliminating these diversities. Thus, the identities that India nurtured were not 'hyphenated' but integral to our history of civilization survival. In a globalizing world, in which notions of consumer are being confused with those of citizen, and plural identities are posing threats

to notions of 'nation-state', questions of survival of distinct identities in anthropomorphic terms are becoming extremely important. From the twentieth century to the twenty-first century the role of the state in determining the course of lives of its citizens is acquiring different dimensions. The state under pressure of structural adjustments desired by the IMF and other funding agencies is moving away from welfare programmes to encourage a market centered approach. In such situations marginalized ethnic communities are being further alienated. In a globalizing world there is an obvious trend to support 'multi-culturalism' but deny any space for 'pluralism' to thrive. The argument mooted in this paper is that denial of space to pluralism does not augur well for the processes of globalization. It also takes the position that any celebration of homogeneity under the pretext of globalization undermines the fundamental democratic principles.

It is proposed that cultural pluralism and poly-ethnicity are essential diacritic of not only Third World societies but also that of developed and developing nation-states. This also in other words involves endorsement of heterogeneity as the formative principle of social existence.

Anthropologists were the first to admit and celebrate plurality. Richard Jenkins in his much acclaimed work, *Rethinking Ethnicity: Arguments and Explorations* stated:

> Just as the conceptual replacement of the 'tribe' by the 'ethnic group' was central to a post-colonial shift in the moral and philosophical centre of gravity of social anthropology, so the development of the notion of the 'plural society' also reflected the loss of empire and a changing post-war world. And, once again, the model emerged out of social anthropology's linked concerns with social groups as the basic unit of analysis and with processes of social integration (p. 25, 1998).

Social anthropologists and sociologists indeed borrowed the notion of pluralism[1] and plural society from the work of Furnivall (1948) in political science. The notion was interpreted in anthropological and sociological lingua franca to imply 'institutional incorporation of different ethnic groups or collectivities into one societal or state system' (Jenkins, 26:1998, also refer to early writings of M G Smith, 1965, Leo Kuper, 1971, VanDen Berghe, 1967, Schermerhorn, 1978). I am not at this point entering into the debate that

many among us are occupied with, about the precision with which these theoretical insights should become the part of larger social science discourse. What is of critical importance to me is the following summation:

> Cultural pluralism[2] embraces the idea that historic cultural differences among peoples should be both admitted and respected by a legal order which assumes them equal rights within national society (Vincent, 2002).

This summation is closely associated with Jenkins' discussion of new discourse on pluralism that talks about 'celebration of difference'. This stance is distinct from much critiqued debates of pluralism that tend to equate 'plural society' with structured and cultural notions of 'multi-ethnicity'. Apparent fear in these discussions is that 'multi-ethnicity' promotes intense sentimentality of 'ethno-nationalism'. This sentiment may subsequently result in social tensions threatening existing boundaries of nation-states, both within and outside. The desire to conform to the model of nation-states as promoted in the post-second world war era and nurtured under borrowed models of American liberalism and democratic philosophy is largely instrumental in shaping this debate. The fears that cultural pluralism may disintegrate the existing world order found its most vocal protagonist in Huntington. In his assertion:

> .... the fundamental source of conflict in this new world will not be primarily ideological or primarily economic. The great divisions among mankind and the dominant source of conflict will be cultural. National states will remain the most powerful actors in world affairs, but the principal conflicts of global politics will occur between nations and groups of different civilizations. The clash of civilizations will be the battle lines of the future. (Huntington 1996, p 1, cf. Lim 2005).

It was this debate that also shaped post-modern discourse. But the conversations that emerged as critique of post modern perceptions according to Jenkins challenged:

> Andocentric meta-narratives of history and progress: as bulwark against fundamentalist images of the world; as an assertion of the rights to autonomous (co-)existence of peripheralized, marginalized, minorityized peoples: as the inspiration for ethics and politics of representation and

diversity which challenge the centralization, the homogenization, the integration, and the domination of — it will come as no surprise after that list — the nation, or more particularly the nation–state (e.g. Rutherford,1990) (ibid,29).

It is also important, before the debate is extended any further, to examine what Fukuyama has to say:

Liberal democracy may constitute the endpoint of mankind's ideological evolution and the final form of human government, and as such constitutes the end of history ... there would be no further progress in the development of underlying principles and institutions, because all the really big questions had been settled ... we are now at a point where we cannot imagine a word substantially different from our own. (Fukuyama 1992, pp. xi-xii, p. 51.cf. Lim, 2005)

These two positions often described as two polar positions by those debating 'On the Role of the State in an Increasingly Borderless World' (Jamus Jerome Lim, 2005) also define the position that most pronounced player in the global field takes. For the United States and other developed industrialized world in the West liberal democracy as perceived and practised by them is the only political order acceptable. In this frame of thought the celebration of differences either in the political domain or in the cultural or economic domain smacks of clash of civilizations.

War Over Spaces and Not Territories or Locality

When we talk about 'Irrelevance of Borders for Achieving Peace and Prosperity', that was the theme of the conference, essentials of constructions of 'border' have to be visualized beyond the much debated notion of 'territoriality' and accompanying emphasis on nation-state, liberal democracy and globalization as positioned by the world's superpower. There is enough evidence to suggest that ideologies of political governance and economic prosperity are not necessarily in correspondence with cultural construction of 'us' versus 'them'. There is also apparent ambiguity in translating notions of peace and prosperity as collective constructions for survival, of the self and society. There is fine distinction between what individuals conceptualize as cultural and what is expected of them socially. One of the dominant strands of various processes of globalization is to encourage homogeneity. Its obvious ramifications are in the domain of cross-cultural interactions.

There are numerous in-built contradictions in the processes itself. At one level, the economic process of globalization encourages absorption of cross-cultural elements giving the impression of the world becoming more global and by implication more homogenous, as we are all converging towards acquiring more diversity in our cuisines and clothing. At another level; it introduces elements threatening marginalization of tradition and cultural traits, if not extinction.

There are countervailing processes operating simultaneously. There is fear of loss of local identities. As a reaction people create enclosures to prevent their annihilation. They identify spaces that are within their reach and those beyond immediate retrieval but available. It is indeed a conflict between spaces that are immediate and those that are more attractive but remote. People want economic prosperity and at the same time do not think that in the bargain they have to forgo their cultural individuality and their ethnic identity.

Max Weber talked about 'monopolistic enclosures' in 1922. In the globalizing world, when enclosures created by geographical spaces and time zones are becoming irrelevant, cultural enclosures continue to reassert itself. The problem becomes confounded, to state societies, when these enclosures acquire threatening dimensions. The editorial cited in the beginning is a classic revelation of the events that the world is likely to encounter if it insists on pursuing the global agenda in its existing polarized format.

One of the characteristic features of globalization is that it promotes the notion of 'abstract space'. Sample for instance Ravi Sundaram's following Insistence.

(http://www.fundacion.telefonica.com/at/esundara.html):

Right from the 1950's onwards the space of the 'global' underwent a certain bracketing. The conquest of the national space and its consolidation was seen as a necessary precondition to a thoroughgoing incorporation into the world economy. In addition, the 'national economy' became a shorthand representational device for the nation itself. This deployment of the 'national economy was, to be sure, the reaction to 200 years of colonial exploitation and India's peripheral status in the world economy. What is important for our purposes is that the 'economy', as in Lefebvre's abstract space, was embedded in a matrix accessible only to a privileged and 'enlightened' class of modernizers. Further,

the economy was perceived as a space clear of the cultural ambivalence inherent in the village, or 'traditional community'. The sociologist and thinker, Zygmunt Bauman speaks of western modernity's great fear of ambivalence, which was inscribed into the project from the very beginning. (Beyond the Nationalist Panopticon: the experience of Cyberpublics in India, 2005)

The agenda of globalization is to corroborate the world view of western science and liberal capitalist philosophy. The distinction between 'abstract space' and 'local place' assumes that 'local place' is subjective, familiar, here and now, conforming to a local (narrow) perspective, while 'space' symbolizes a distant, abstract and outsider's 'objective' or universal perspective (Hirsch, 1995:14, Whitehead, 2003). Whitehead elaborates upon this agenda suggesting:

The concept of abstract space emerged with the enlightenment and rise of capitalism, and was conceived of as homogenous, isometric and infinitely extended. Its primary property was metrically determinable pure extension. It provided a geometric template of nature within which western science flourished and a grid upon which the earth's resources could be mapped.

Judy Whitehead in support of her arguments also cites Casey (1996:19-20) that is reproduced below:

.... for Newton, Descartes and Galileo, local differences did not matter. Place itself did not matter. It was not for nothing that Descartes proposed in his principles of philosophy that matter and space were the same thing—which meant that space had no qualities not present in matter, which was.... pure extension..... In this early modern paradigm shift, there was little space for place as a valid concept in its own right. As a result, place was disempowered and all power now rested in space. It was devoid of content.

We recapitulate these perceptive observations here to rest our case that the process of globalization rooted in western science and liberal capitalism had no place for 'pluralism'. It was never sensitive to importance attached by individuals and communities to locality or local histories. In principle it was averse to both economic and cultural pluralism[1]. Its agenda all along was homogenization. It extended beyond economic hegemonies of capitalist market economy to

superimpose construction of notion of lifestyle based on percepts of rationality and scientific wisdom. Nation-states that had just emerged free from colonial domination were asked to proceed on a journey that was rooted in principles of democracy as defined in constitutions adopted by former colonizers and follow development models that early industrial societies had incorporated in their economies. The debate from colonial to neo-colonial models has occupied a large legroom in social science writings for a long time now. It may be a worthwhile exercise any time in the future to follow the course of this debate to understand how these ideologies penetrated new democracies.

Profit Versus Plurality

Once the critique on neo-colonial models of development became loud and disturbing to the perpetrators of western science and wisdom, quest for fresh lexicon started. Many attempts are being made to unfold when and how the transition from neo-colonial models to loud rhetoric on globalization gained impetus. Some would like to trace it back to Maynard Keynes classic *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* published in 1919 (Lim, 2005). IMF in one of its brief on issues talks about globalization 'as a historical process, the result of human innovation and technological progress. .... increasing integration of economies around the world, particularly through trade and financial flows'. To make its position categorical, the document emphasizes:

At its most basic, there is nothing mysterious about globalization. The term has come into common usage since the 1980s, reflecting technological advances that have made it easier and quicker to complete international transactions — both trade and financial flows. It refers to an extension beyond national borders of the same market forces that have operated for centuries at all levels of human activity — village markets, urban industries, or financial centres. (*Globalization: Threat or opportunity? An IMF Issues Brief: 2005-2006*).

In sociological literature visible strands can be traced as far back as the debates on 'dependency theory' and 'global village'. Yogesh Atal an eminent sociologist in one of his recent presentations recalls the same argument:

Globalization can be understood as a process of making the world a 'global village' in the sense in which Marshall McLuhan used the concept. Geographical distances

notwithstanding, communications are playing their role in bringing closer different parts of the globe as an interacting and communicating community. .... In other words, isolation of individual communities and countries is broken. .... This is how the process of globalization has brought the entire world to India and taken India to different parts of the world[3].

In India, the discussions gained momentum after the process of neo-liberalism was initiated with economic liberalization. Without realizing, the intellectual elite were being sapped into debates, what Chomsky (1999) describes, as 'Profit over People'. The intellectual community was visibly divided between those who supported 'profit' and those who felt for the 'people'.

I would classify myself among those who doubted the mystique being created around this myth of the world becoming a 'global village' and consequently a more humane space. There were glaring disparities in the way multiple processes of globalization were impacting unsuspecting masses. The impact was most injurious on those people and communities who were marginalized and were the least beneficiaries of technological and information revolution. They did not even comprehend what the celebration of global was all about. A reminder to that chilling reality is a report published in *The Times of India* (3 May 2006) which says that 'India has the highest number of malnourished children in the world. Nearly 47 per cent of under fives numbering 57 million are underweight'. To add shame to India shining story is the revelation that even sub-Saharan Africa reeling under poverty and AIDS pandemic performed better with 33 per cent of its children being malnourished.

These disparities have given debates on globalization worried annotations in the first decade of the twenty first century. The champion of globalization — IMF keeps explaining:

The crises in the emerging markets in the 1990s have made it quite evident that the opportunities of globalization do not come without risks — risks arising from volatile capital movements and the risks of social, economic and environmental degradation created by poverty.

It is rather unfortunate that IMF is not even willing to admit that greatest harm to social and natural environment has come from the culture of affluence that is being generated by consumer-centric market economic system. Poverty is blamed for all the ills of the society and

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without saying so, it implies, that if poor are not able to keep pace with the demands of the market system, they have no right to survive. If they cannot afford to buy quality food, they may remain malnourished, if they cannot pay for health services, they may die, if they cannot afford to buy property, they have no right to housing so and so forth.

Quite oblivious to these concerns IMF issue statement goes on to assert:

This is not a reason to reverse direction, but for all concerned — in developing countries, in the advanced countries, and of course investors — to embrace policy changes to build strong economies and a stronger world financial system that will produce more rapid growth and ensure that poverty is reduced (*IMF issues Brief: 2002*).

Statistics unfortunately do not corroborate IMF hypothesis. Evidence suggests that the 'number of people living on US$1 a day or less fell slightly from about 1.2 billion in 1990 to 1.1billion in 2000' (*World Bank Global Economic Prospects, 2004*). The Indian economists, who follow the neo-liberal model of economics, give the age old 'trickle down effect' argument in favour of their case for open markets. Industrialists are certainly celebrating. Political parties whether on the right or on the left seem to talk in tandem. Economic success stories have completely stifled the voice of marginalized and the impoverished. The hegemony of the West in particular that of United States of America in deciding the future of the world has generated enormous conflict of interests. Economic models supposedly based on science, social justice and rationale are out to disturb local harmony. Community loyalties and cultural values are becoming subservient to the demands of commoditization.

Globalization and Culture Debates

The Emerging Global Culture is a reference system which organizes cultural diversity worldwide (Joana Breidenbach/Ina Zukrigl).

There are numerous inbuilt contradictions in the processes of transformation impacting India in the beginning of twenty-first century. There is acknowledgment of urgency with which globalization is encouraging/celebrating homogenization. Homogenization per se spells death knell for pluralism as it firmly tries to transplant cultural aliens as functional clones, monitored not only to 'look alike' but also

processed and charged to conform to early classic evolutionary school's concern to 'think alike'. In addition to that the hidden agenda of dominating industrial economies is acutely disturbing.

To place the debate in context, there is urgent need to take a cue from what Gerald Haines and Chomsky wrote:

Following World War 11 the United States assumed, out of self interest, responsibility for the welfare of the world capitalist system (Haines) naturally, the principal architects of policy intended to use this power to design a global system in their interests (cf Chomsky, 1999, p. 20-21).

The basic argument in the opinion of many is that globalization is not necessarily being used as a devise to promote march of expansionist capitalism, but on the contrary 'weakens individual states' power (Held and McGrew, 2000). Opinions are once again divided. Chomsky is consistently arguing that it is by design that the hegemony of USA and, by extension, of the West rules globalized world. Many others (Dunklin, 2005, Held and McGrew, 2000) argue that globalization serves to limit the economic dominance of any single nation-state by introducing checks and balances that protect the interests of the weaker states. There is general concurrence that globalization creates a new reference system (Richard Wilk, cf, Breidenbach and Zukrigl,199). Wilk defines it as 'structures of common difference'. The inherent paradox in the argument creates a space in which cultures are perceived as having utilitarian ends. They appropriate in-puts from global cultures to meet their vested interests.

Mass production of cultural clones introduces elements that produce similar consumer behaviour practices, may be in a restricted sense a comprehensible 'lingua franca'. But the question remains are they able to come out of their local spaces? A McDonald's may evolve fusion food and cater to local tastes. But this need not necessarily mean that all those eating at McDonalds have appropriated western cultural values. It is also problematic to assume that these people have actually crossed over local spaces in their desire to locate themselves in globalized 'abstract space'. Many social scientists believe that they acquire characteristics of a split personality, living in a divided world. Shrinkage of spaces is not necessarily encouraging tolerance of the 'other'. The 'other' may speak the same language in the same accent, buy his food and clothes from the same up-market store, but he continues to horn an identity that is somewhere in the 'abstract space', is related to his

'nativity'. There is a possibility of a section of population that being influenced to evolve a 'comparative consciousness', but probability of these cultures ever acquiring any collective consciousness is not even remote. Collin Powell or Condoleezza Rice may be symbolic of desired representation that minorities in United states may seek, but are they essential significant of desired social change itself? Similarly in India the Dalits or the Scheduled Tribes may find some representation in politics, bureaucracy or even industry. Yet their presence is not necessarily making either the United States or India or the world at large a more egalitarian globalized world in which people of all races, creeds and classes have equal opportunities.

There is an apparent divide in subscribing to cultural values, belief and kinship systems. Confusions that are created in the domain of the conscious and the unconscious make individuals susceptible. One is not comfortable endorsing Huntington's discrete references to clash of cultures as the underlying statement in his much critiqued theory of 'clash of civilizations'; as anthropologists for long have examined cultures as processes and not as bundled entities. Individuals participating in these processes of continuous adaptations and rejections are also often at loss in locating their own identities. There is growing pressure to conform to an emerging global identity and there is an internal struggle to sustain native identities. There is fear of loss of customs and traditions. There is also perpetual pressure that the dominating traditions are closing their spaces.

There is a school of thought in ethnographic writings that talks about creolization, (Ulf Haneez, 1992) referring to cultural expressions that are devoid of historical roots but are a consequence of expanding global interconnections. Individuals wearing this label have lived in transnational spaces and have evolved their own hyphenated identities. To them, as Breidenbach and Zukrigl (1999) point out:

.... locality itself looses its importance. New transnational communities come into being. They are bound together by common interest, profession or social and cultural similarities rather than by origin or geographical closeness. The more privileged among them are business men or scientists, the majority is made of migrants, exile communities and refugees, who set up long distance communication or economic links, send self-recorded tapes and commodities back and forth..... .

The emerging global culture consists of universal categories and standards by which cultural differences become mutually intelligible and compatible. Societies all over the world are becoming on the one hand more similar to one another, on the other hand more different. .... Most of the global categories and standards circulating today originate in the West, but spread because people everywhere appropriate them and use them to express themselves and fight for their own ends.

My problem with this discourse is that when we moot these generalizations, we have a tendency to disregard disparities that exist within nation-states. Even as students of local cultures and deep structures, we fail to comprehend the fact that in most countries the dominant trends of cultural globalization have largely been urban processes. The remote, deprived and marginalized may have watched a television programme occasionally, may have seen or used a mobile phone, may have also had occasion to view a computer but regions in which the majority are busy striving for survival, appropriation of western cultures appears a distant possibility. The other disturbing element in these generalizations is obsession with one way cultural flows. Recipient cultures are often perceived as vacant spaces. The so-called global culture, is indifferent to cultural aspirations of local communities. Its hegemony is rooted in its perception of being rational and liberal. The process itself is antithetical to heterogeneous and plural cultural practices. It is difficult to comprehend complementarities that many scholars assume exists between heterodoxy, pluralism and economic globalization.

Salience of Heterodoxy, Pluralism and Economic Liberalization

India, the globalization debate offers only one of two positions-an uncritical celebration of a homogenized globe or an equally celebratory reassertion of the nation as a bulwark against global capitalism.

I have not had the opportunity to read Amartya Sen's recent publication *The Argumentative Indian: Writings on Indian History, Culture and Identity* but had the occasion to read through two reviews of the book in 8 October 2005 issue of *Economic and Political Weekly*. Ramachnadra Guha in his critique lists 'persistence of heterodoxy and pluralism in Indian history' as the main theme of the book. Also in the same vein, he draws our attention to Sen's comfort with economic liberalization citing the following excerpts from his work:

Some of the fears about globalization make it sound like an animal — analogous to the big shark in 'Jaws' — that gobbles up unsuspecting innocents in a dark and mysterious way.

My empirical understanding suggests that in more ways then we perceive globalization as the big shark that has already engulfed many innocent lives. Its hegemony has blatantly eroded human rights of the poorest of the poor. The Kalinga Nagar violent protests and worried references to growing Red belt in the country are only minor pointers in that direction. Challenges of rehabilitation posed by displacement of millions were neither met in the first phase of industrialization and development, nor anything substantial is on the offering in this IMF sponsored phase of economic globalization.

In this context Sen's comments on 'post colonial conspiracy theories' cited by Guha[4] also make interesting reading to comprehend how contemporary, liberal, compassionate minds reeling under the labour of rationale and scientific temperament are debating issues:

> An epistemic methodology that sees the pursuit of knowledge as entirely congruent with the search for power is a great deal more cunning than wise (2005, p. 4420, *Economic and Political Weekly*).

I will not be wise to my intellectual commitment if I comment on these comments without reading the full text of the book itself, but what is important to me in this debate is celebration of multi-culturalism, heterodoxy and dialogical tradition that Sen systematically documents, in this collection of essays and his conviction that globalization is not posing any threat to the traditions that we have sustained for centuries. Sen writes:

> The contemporary relevance of the dialogic tradition and of the acceptance of heterodoxy is hard to exaggerate.

> In dealing with issues of contemporary inequality..... The reach and relevance of the argumentative tradition must be examined in terms of the contribution it can make today in resisting and undermining these inequities....

> The tradition of heterodoxy has clear relevance for democracy and secularism in India.... Indeed, the importance of fuller knowledge about India's traditions is hard to overemphasize at the present time (cf. p. 4423, ibid).

What emerges from Guha's arguments in his review of Sen's work is comfort that Sen has with India's multi-cultural traditions and necessity of its continuance to ensure a safe passage for democratic liberal traditions of equity and justice. In the same breath Amartya Sen is also arguing for a case to allow without intervention processes of globalization and developments of post-colonial liberal economies in contemporary India. In his pursuance to celebrate Akbar and Ashoka and ancient Indian traditions, Sen is not even questioning the debate generated by Arjun Appadurai[5] that questioned the survival of 'nation-state' itself in response to call for globalization. If his argument is that the inequities that lasted in the form of caste discriminations for centuries will be eliminated under global culture, then many among us would be hugely skeptic. If he finds violence and armed struggle, building in the richest natural resource belts of India, as an unanticipated precedent of a process or a deliberate design of those, who believe that 'pursuit of knowledge' is 'entirely congruent with search for power'; then I am afraid there is something wrong with the methodology that champions of economic globalization employ for measuring flows of social and cultural change.

Globalization till date has not evoked levels of human compassion that Amartya Sen or million others would desire. The response to the earthquake in Jammu and Kashmir has once again brought to the centre-stage contradictions and paradoxes that are inbuilt in contemporary debates on globalization imagining a world order without boundaries to promote peace and harmony. The delays in building bridges to provide relief, the political infirmities even on account of human suffering, take away any sheen that global cultural exchange or communication may have created.

We continue to be troubled by questions. Is it possible to have a globalized world of our dreams without re-positioning, reconstructing the premise on which the concept of nation-state is rooted? Is it possible to have sustainable development without causing misery to millions? Can there be a just policy for mandatory displacement and subsequent rehabilitation of those displaced? Is it possible to ensure human rights without doing politics? Is it possible to ignore or re-write histories or even re-interpret them without offending sensitivities? Is economic mantra in itself sufficed to promote peace, and prosperity in a globalizing world? Will homogeneity really come to replace rooted heterodoxy and multi-culturalism? Will the globalizing hegemonies allow the celebrations that pluralism strives to promote and sustain?

It is important to pay heed to anthropological discomfort:

If anything, we might plausibly insist that the modern world is in some respects becoming even more homogenous .... the similarities may be striking as the differences. Nor is it simply a matter of technology: the global convergence of business, tourism and, to some extent, culture and politics is a phenomenon to be reckoned with. In terms of values-particularly with the apparent triumph of capitalism — the cultures of the world are now divided at least as much by what they hold in common as by their differences. (Jenkins, 1998, 38).

Global enthusiasts are lost in chanting ragas of rising economic index. They are neither sensitive to, nor have ever taken cognizance of growing disparities, accumulating anger and consolidation of differences. The Tribal revolts against ambitious steel plants in Kalinga Nagar in Orissa or as pointed out earlier the growing Red belt in Central and Southern India is only a rejoinder to what awaits unprecedented consequences of so called global march or as a socialist would say the capitalist agenda of the hegemonic west.

There are questions and more questions. It is an inconclusive debate. When multiple processes are operational, unprecedented consequences go beyond any perceptible range of imagination. At present there is enough evidence to suggest that under the impact of globalization, 'pluralism' is certainly not getting adequate space. 'Sandwich cultures', 'fusion foods', 'multi-cuisine restaurants', 'cross-over' music can be celebrated; but do people get enough space to practice what they believe in remains the moot question. To go back to the opening dialogue of this paper, (*The Times of India* editorial), truly speaking future of 'pluralism' is in peril. The myth of 'shrinking spaces' and clarion calls for 'paradigm shift' fails to assuage the wounds of wars of hegemony. Compulsions of remaining the only super power in the world is at present defining the global order. There are serious question marks on the autonomy of various processes being identified as leading to globalization. Those who matter and control are invariably not a part of the cultural complexes that in Amartya Sen's terms are rooted in an 'argumentative tradition'. Unless cross-cultural exchanges become reciprocal and; language of liberalism multi-lingual, 'pluralism' will continue to struggle to define its own domain.

End Notes

[1]The initial discussions and theoretical formulations in anthropological writings on pluralism emanated from the understanding that homogeneity

was normative to societies. Plurality was usually interpreted in precepts of multi-ethnicity in the writings of Barth (1984), Doornobs (1991), Maybury — Lewis (1984), Rapport (1995) talked about cultural pluralism, social pluralism & structural pluralism as was made by Smith (1974) or in terms of Normative pluralism, Political pluralism, Cultural pluralism and Structural pluralism as was done by Schermerhorn (1978). These perceptions were examining plurality in the larger context of notions of nation-states as the outer defining boundaries.

[2]I use the term Cultural pluralism to encompass notions of religious and linguistic pluralism.

[3]Excerpted from Yogesh Atal's valedictory address delivered on 5 April 2006 at a seminar on 'Socio-Cultural Diversities and Globalization: Issues and Perspectives' organized by Indian Institute of Advanced Studies at International Centre, Goa.

[4]Guha has come rather heavily on Sen for ignoring India's long standing tradition of multilingualism. Guha in his review writes, 'The most striking omission, in terms of theme, is that of language, a matter of vital importance to India and Indians. (The word does not rate an entry in what is a fairly extensive index.) Whether or not premodern India was "multicultural", as Sen claims, it was certainly multilingual. From the Mughals in the north to the Nayakas in the deep south, royal courts featured multiple languages of discourse. Some of the greatest medieval poets and composers wrote their songs and verses in three or four tongues. At least in the towns, the common folk were also conversant with several languages' (*EPW*, 2005, p. 4423). I quote Guha at length here to show that in his critique itself, he has acknowledged that culture and language at; local levels are intertwined and when one talks about multiple cultural traditions, one is simultaneously referring to multilingual traditions as well.

[5]Arjun Appadurai (1996:158) in his early writings 'valorizes the post-national and the transnational in its identification of the demise of nationalism and the death of the (nation) state and sovereignty' (see Shail Mayaram *EPW* 2004, p.84). Appadurai's thesis was that refugee camps, international terrorism along with international peace keeping forces was uniting the world and diffusing territorial boundaries that define 'nation-state'. Appadurai's thesis is being confronted by various other scholars (Partha Chatterjee; 1998, Menon; 2005, Cheah and Robbins; 1998).

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Redefining Role of Women in Education, Health and Demographic Change

Educational Organizations and Systems in India

Study of Muslim Traditional Education and the Status of Women

Kuldip Kaur

The culture and civilization of every nation depends upon the system of education imparted to its people. Therefore, education determines the shape of political, social, economic and cultural institutions, besides moulding the attitude and behaviour of individuals as well as of society. The education imparted in different institutions is accepted at the national and state levels. Governments are committed to providing 'education to all', particularly to the vulnerable sections of society, especially women. This paper discusses the traditional education system of Muslims and the status of women in this system.

Educationists and sociologists use the term 'Traditional Education' for a specific type of education, run by different communities or religious groups. However, the paper deals with the traditional educational institutions that cover (i) traditional-cum-religious, or (ii) religious-cum-secular education, according to the tenets of their religion. It shows that religion-based communities set up different and distinct educational institutions that impart religious, traditional and semi-modern education.

India has a multi-lingual and multi-cultural society, which consists of diverse religious, linguistic and cultural groups. According to Prof Bipan Chandra, a group of people, who follow a particular religion, have common, social, political and economic interests. It is the belief that in India, Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Sikhs form different and distinct communities, which are independently and separately structured or consolidated; that all the followers of a religion share not only a community of religious interests but also common secular interests. The definition focuses that education, as its medium, can also preserve the religion, culture and linguistic identity of these

groups. Therefore, in a democratic set-up education of different religious groups acquires special significance. In a plural society like India, which is so large in size, it is difficult to assimilate all the groups to preserve their culture, although the Constitution of India guarantees certain rights to religious groups. All communities, whether based on religion, culture or language, are free in any unit to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice. The state shall not, while providing aid to educational institutions, discriminate against institutions under the management of particular communities, whether based on religion, sect, caste, creed or language.

The preamble to the Constitution of India states:

WE, THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a SOVEREIGN SOCIALIST SECULAR DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC and to secure to all its citizens:

JUSTICE, social, economic and political;

LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;

EQUALITY of status and opportunity;

FRATERNITY assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity and integrity of the Nation.

These provisions of the Constitution of India highlight that education in the wider sense, aims at making the individual a good human being and a useful member of society. As a matter of fact, education is an instrument to develop the right kind of manpower. In such circumstances, each community has access to opening traditional institutions that highlight the identity of the religion. The same tendency has been found in each religion-based community.

In India, community-based educational institutions impart traditional or religious education and run parallel to institutions that impart modern education. The systems differ in pattern, curriculum, grades, management and structure. The traditional system teaches mainly theological (religious) subjects linked with the ideologies of different religious communities, and the modern system teaches rational (material) subjects with focus on the coherent ideologies of all communities.

These communities represent different religions, such as Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists, Jains and others (Parsees and non-stated religions) according to the Census of 2001.

Table I reveals the status of the population belonging to different religious groups.

Table I
Religion-wise Distribution of Population as per 2001 Census

	All Religion	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Sikhs	Buddhists	Jains	Others	Religion not stated
Persons	1,028,610,328	827,578,868	138,188,240	24,080,018	19,215,730	7,955,207	4,225,053	6,639,626	727,588
Males	532,156,772	428,678,554	71,374,134	11,984,663	10,152,298	4,074,155	2,177,398	3,332,551	383,019
Females	496,453,556	398,900,314	66,814,106	12,095,353	9,063,432	3,881,052	2,047,655	3,307,075	344,569
Rural	742,490,639	611,263,295	88,794,744	15,893,958	14,106,481	4,893,610	1,009,347	6,002,468	--
Urban	286,119,689	216,315,573	49,393,496	8,186,058	5,109,249	3,061,597	3,215,706	637,158	-
Sex Ratio	933	931	936	1,009	893	953	940	992	-
Literacy Rates	64.8	65.1	59.1	80.3	69.4	72.7	94.1	47.0	-
Males	75.3	76.2	67.6	84.4	75.2	83.1	97.4	60.8	-
Females	53.7	53.2	50.1	76.2	63.1	61.7	90.6	33.2	-

Source: *Census of India 2001; The First Report on Religion Data—Abstract,* pp. xxvii, xxxviii-ix, xl,xliii-iv-v.

All these religious communities had (even have) their own traditional educational institutions that were (are) imparting either only traditional-cum-religious education, or religious-cum-secular education.

Classification of educational institutions of different communities falls under such structure as:

a) **Community-based traditional educational institutions**

- **Hindus**: Pathshalas, Gurukulas and Sanskrit Vidyalayas.
- **Muslims**: Maktabs, Madrasas and Dar-ul-Ulooms.
- **Christians**: Church schools, convent schools and colleges.
- **Sikhs**: Deras and Gurdwaras' teaching centres.
- **Buddhists**: Monasteries and Buddhist learning centres.
- **Jains**: Included in Hindu institutions.

Teaching at these institutions is intended to impart religious education with some vernacular subjects according to their own ideologies and theologies, because mostly these are attached to their places of worship. Persons educated at these institutions are expected to impart similar education to the next generation of the community.

Muslims are more inclined towards traditional education. Thus, the ever-increasing interest in establishing Madrasas and unquestioned reliance on the traditional system of education. Perhaps, that is why, the Muslim traditional education system did not penetrate into the modern system of education.

b) **Community-based semi-modern education institutions**

- **Hindus**: Dev Samaj, Arya Samaj and Sanatan Dharma educational institutions.
- **Muslims**: Islamia schools and colleges.
- **Christians**: Convents or missionary educational institutions.
- **Sikhs**: Khalsa schools and colleges.
- **Buddhists**: Tibetan schools and other higher learning centres.
- **Jains**: Included in Hindu institutions.

These institutions are autonomous and are not bound to follow the government prescribed rules and regulations. Most of the institutions are registered under the Societies or Trust Act. These follow

the same pattern, curriculum and grades prescribed by the Central or State Boards, the UGC and Government Education Departments. In addition, these institutions impart knowledge to students about the religion of the sponsoring community.

c) **All-community–based modern education institutions**

- **Government**: Central and State levels.
- **Autonomous**: Regional and area levels.

These institutions are either autonomous or government run and are and not bound to follow the government prescribed rules and regulations. These are partially free from religion and community biases. These have to follow the same pattern, curriculum and grades prescribed by government.

We have given a brief description of the three kinds of systems and organizations, but the following pages will discuss only the Muslim traditional system of education, known as Madrasa education. The Madrasa system has remained virtually unchanged.

The origin of Madrasa education in India is traced to the medieval period as the first Madrasa was established by Mohammad Ghori in 1191 A.D. at Ajmer in Rajasthan. After that, a number of Madrasas were established throughout the Muslim empire. Scholars and courtiers patronized the Madrasas with financial help from contemporary rulers of the Sultanate period (1206-1526). The rulers were also great patrons of learning.

The process of Madrasa education, which had taken deeper roots under the Sultanate, was firmly consolidated under the Mughals as a national system of education. But educational integration could not take place because Hindus and Buddhists had other systems of education. Despite the national system of education, educational attainment remained different between the followers of Islam and those of other religions. Among this diffusion of education, Madrasas flourished in large numbers due to Muslim political domination. Akbar made new experiments in education. He made Madrasa curriculum close to Hindus. N N Law writes that 'in Akbar's period, perhaps for the first time in Mohammadan history, a Muslim monarch was sincerely eager to further the education of Hindus and Mohammadans alike'. Hindus and Muslims studied together. Akbar made changes in the modes of study, curriculum and methods of teaching. He introduced morality, arithmetic, accounts, agriculture, geometry, astronomy,

economics, the art of government, physics, logic, natural philosophy, divinity and history. The Hindus studied Vyakarana, Nyaya, Vedanta and Patanjali. Hindus and Muslims studied according to their own requirements and circumstances. Hindus were appointed as teachers in Madrasas. Akbar also encouraged scientific research. He made generous provision for Hindu youths to study their own culture in the Madrasas. A remarkable feature of the system of education under Akbar was that it tried to integrate various aspects of the life of the nation. It did not allow any discrimination on the basis of religion and thereby laid the foundation of secular scholastic traditions and inter-cultural synthesis in India. The next two successors, Jahangir and Shahjahan, continued the educational policy and system of Akbar. Aurangzeb, the last of the great Mughals, followed an educational policy in keeping with his general policy of governing the empire and also in the interest of his co-religionists. He promoted Madrasa education earnestly, diffused Islamic learning throughout his vast empire. He had his own concept and system of education. He had a broad humanistic approach, in which history, geography and the languages of the surrounding nations, their forms of government, manners and customs found a suitable place in every curriculum to be prepared for Madrasa education. The religious element in education was another objective, which continues even today in the Madrasas. After the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, till the end of Muslim rule, the Madrasas began to decline due to lack of financial support and official patronage. During British rule, the Madrasa system was in decay due to the introduction of the English system of education in India.

The growth and development of Madrasa education during British rule is closely related to the problems of Muslim traditional education. As British rule established itself in the country, the entire pattern of education was changed. Indigenous education began to lose its status. Apart from British antipathy, educated Indians, especially the non-Muslims, became so enamoured of English education that they also became indifferent to indigenous institutions. Rather, they started looking upon them with contempt. English was the welcome avenue for employment with government. Education became an object of mental and moral cultivation as a means of achieving purely worldly ambitions. Traditional education was also undermined as the Maulvis were looked upon as possible leaders of disaffection and the British treated them with suspicion. Cultivation of the classical languages, without which the vernaculars could not be developed, became more

and more restricted. As a result many of the classical educational institutions closed down. The establishment of modern schools also contributed to the decline of Maktabs and Madrasas. Gradually, many of these were integrated into the modern system of education, while the remainder became purely religious institutions.

The British Government's determination to introduce the system of English education did not appeal to the Muslims. The non-Muslims, however, welcomed the policy. They had learnt Persian and Urdu under the Mughals, and were now willing to learn English, the language of the new rulers. Some Muslim religious leaders provided a religious basis to the opposition of the community to the study of English. Such an attitude towards the English language weakened the position of the Muslims, as they gradually began to lose important offices. Under the circumstances, the Muslims established several new Madrasas privately, where only the *Koran*, *Hadis* and *Fiqh* were taught, just to prepare the students to be able to defend the faith. This situation made the British realize the need for some attention to the education of their Indian subjects. This resulted in the establishment of *Madrasa-i-Aliya*, Calcutta. At the request of Muslims, Warren Hastings founded the Calcutta Madrasa in October 1781, at his own expense. The main object of establishing the Calcutta Madrasa was to provide training for public services and for the legal profession at a time when Persian was still the official language, and fiscal and judicial administration was still carried on in accordance with Muslim Law. Muslim Law and Persian naturally formed the main courses of study. Calcutta Madrasa fulfilled this objective as its alumni monopolized posts of trust and responsibility under the government. Schools and colleges were gradually started and were organized around different universities. The Madrasa system was sidelined. It was not included in the university system, though its inclusion therein was suggested in the Despatch of 1854, which opened a new era in the history of Indian education. Thus began the downfall of the Madrasa system. As a result of the Despatch of 1854 the University of Calcutta was established in 1857, which developed and organized the English system of education. The new system of education did not appeal to the Muslims, particularly as there was no provision for even teaching Persian or Arabic in the new university system.

The Madrasa system continued to retain some importance till the middle of the nineteenth century, and its graduates were considered to be qualified for certain government services. But after the revolt of

1857, it became impossible for a Madrasa graduate to get any government job. The Muslim community in India now realized that they could not depend on the government for their religious education and that they would have to run their own schools if they wanted their youth to know their religion. In 1865, *Dar-ul-Uloom* was started at Deoband. A network of Madrasas affiliated to the *Dar-ul-Uloom* was planned all over North India. This plan was realized to the extent that two other Madrasas were established — the *Mazahir-ul-Uloom* in 1865 at Saharanpur and *Qasim-ul-Uloom* in 1878 at Moradabad. They looked up to the *Dar-ul-Uloom* of Deoband for inspiration and guidance. The aim of *Dar-ul-Uloom* was to inculcate the Islamic spirit among Muslims, on the lines indicated by Shah Wali-Ullah, and prepare its students to fight British imperialism.

Muslim apathy, rather hatred for English education was not confined to any particular province but pervaded practically every part of India. The Education Commission of 1882 made 17 recommendations on different aspects. Accordingly, government adopted certain measures to make the English system of education attractive to the Muslim community but the Madrasa system was left untouched. In the meantime, Sir Sayed Ahmad Khan realized that the traditional education imparted in Madrasas, which had remained unchanged for centuries, would not be able to deliver the goods. Hence he pleaded that Muslims should adjust themselves to the new political order by coming closer to the English system of education. He met with stiff opposition from the traditionalists, but got encouraging support from the upper and middle classes of northern India who were dissatisfied with the way education was being imparted in traditional institutions. Sir Sayed had taken the opinion of Muslim divines about Muslim education and had concluded that it would be desirable to provide religious instruction along with English education so that exposure to the new sciences might not weaken the faith of Muslim students.

Besides, some Muslim leaders, especially Shibli Numani, realized the need for an institution, which could instil into these students the spirit of classical Islam and also develop their critical faculties by acquainting them with western ideas and new thinking. To fulfill this need *Dar-ul-Uloom Nadwat-ul-Ulama* was established in 1894 with the objective of reforming the traditional educational system and introducing temporal science and technical training. Shibli Numani was dissatisfied with the existing type of Madrasas' *Nisab* (syllabus),

which had remained unchanged for more than a century. He felt the need for a drastic change, as he argued that the education imparted in the Madrasas was not strictly religious education. There were more books on Greek philosophy and science than on theology in the syllabus of *Dars-i-Nizamiya*. When such was the case, then why were the *Ulama* opposed to English education. So Shibli Numani wanted *Nadwa* to be a meeting place of the *Ulema* groups and the English educated classes for the uplift of Muslims in all spheres of life. Shibli wanted to develop Nadwa into a university of Islamic studies and culture, whose products would not only be proficient in Islamic studies and classical learning, but also have a thorough knowledge of western ideas and new thinking. But his ideas could not be realized because of the non-co-operation of the *Ulema* groups.

If we turn to the south and the west, we find a situation different from that in the north. *Anjuman-i-Islam*, an educational society, established in 1876 in Bombay, had encouraged English education among the Muslim masses. As a result, Muslims in western India took to English education earlier than their counterparts in the north. Likewise, Amir Ali was engaged in working for English education in eastern India, like Tayyabji in the south and the west and Sir Sayed Ahmad Khan in the north. Undoubtedly, all these measures were helpful in spreading English education among the Muslims, but they did not go far enough.

With the efforts of educational reformers, the situation became more satisfactory than before, though many difficulties were still to be overcome before the Muslims could take wholeheartedly to English education. For instance, Madrasas flourished with some adjustments to modern needs and had the tendency to widen the gap between Muslims and other communities. Muslim leaders never tackled this problem seriously. Consequently, they were unable to take full advantage of the government-run and government-aided institutions. These factors restricted the progress of English education among the Muslims. This situation continued until 3 March 1914, when the government appointed a committee under Resolution No. 468E to advise the government on Muslim education. The committee was of the opinion that 'boys go to Madrasa more from necessity than by choice. Those who can afford to pay for English education generally go to a high school, and only the poorer students go to Madrasas'. In accordance with the

persistent desire of the community, the reformed system of Madrasa education was introduced with the avowed object, among others, of bringing Islamic education in line with the requirements of the time. The government sanctioned the reformed scheme in July 1914 as 'calculated to serve the highest interest of the Muslim community'. The reformed Madrasa system of education was evolved with a network of thousands of Maktabs linked with hundreds of junior and high Madrasas. The reformed scheme was designed to bring the Madrasa system into the mainstream of modern life and incorporate it with university education, without sacrificing the truly Islamic founding.

In 1917, Calcutta University Commission remarked: '...a considerable portion of the Muslims is still pupils in Madrasas; wherever a private Muslim educational enterprise is concerned it tends to develop a purely Islamic institution...'. This means that the community hankers after a system of education, which will enable it to preserve its social and religious personality and its communal tradition. During the period 1918 to 1932, governments, especially the Government of Bengal, passed different resolutions for the reform of the Madrasa system, but not much was achieved till 1932. A vast majority of Muslim students continued to join the Madrasas, because of their loyalty to traditional learning and religion.

In 1939, the then Chief Minister of Bengal, declared that any discrimination with regard to grants between reformed Madrasas and old scheme Madrasas was totally unacceptable to the government. He went so far as to assert that he not only wanted to promote Madrasa education but was also in favour of establishing an Arabic university in Bengal. This declaration was in perfect consonance with the feelings and aspirations of the Muslim masses. With this perspective, a sum of Rs. 30,000 was set apart to be spent on senior Madrasas, which were growing from year to year both in size and numbers. But due to the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939, the proposals could not be implemented.

In 1947, India achieved independence under the domination of Hindus. Then the Muslim masses found it difficult to cope with the understandable conditions of the Madrasas, which started declining for want of regular and adequate finance. Muslims also felt insecure with the fear that in a Hindu-dominated country, the Muslims would be at a disadvantage in socio-economic terms, as also in education, and in other fields. Under the circumstances, by about 1948-49, Indian

Muslims felt that they must maintain their separate identity as the largest minority community of the country. This, they believed, they could do only by opening more institutions of traditional learning such as Madrasas. So the Muslims started opening Madrasas, either with government or private patronage — reformed or old. The progress of Madrasa education in independent India will be discussed in the following pages, but here it may be pointed out that in British India, the old and reformed Madrasas and secular education systems constituted a happy combination with the promise of opening a new line of advance for traditional education along with the English system of education.

There is very little all-India or state-wise or region-wise information on Madrasa education in post-independence India because of lack of universalization of the traditional system of education. The census volumes only record count by education, and do not sub-classify by religion. Data on Madrasa education are extremely limited in scope and coverage. Therefore, data on the exact number of Madrasas that are functioning today are not available, but the estimated count from various sources is nearly 1,00,000 all over the country. These include old and large institutions, such as *Dar-ul-Uloom*, Deoband; *Nadwa* of Lucknow; *Mazahir-ul-Uloom*, Saharanpur; *Madrasa-i-Aliya*, Calcutta; *Shams-ul-Huda*, Patna; and *Madrasa-i-Aliya*, Rampur, and their affiliated institutions. Some of them have boarding houses and buildings of their own, while others are attached to mosques. Some of them impart elementary religious education, while others give religious education at a higher level. Since independence, western ideas and philosophies have found acceptance in some of these Madrasas.

At present, it is well known that the doors to worldly success are closed to Madrasa graduates. Still, the Madrasas have a large number of students. It is usually believed that only poor families, incapable of providing modern education to their children, send them to Madrasas. This is only partially true, for many well-to-do families have also been sending at least one of their sons to a Madrasa. In fact, Madrasa education has been regarded as a kind of religious duty. Even so, the changed political, economic and social conditions have not reduced the number of Madrasas, by and large. Data reveal that there is not much difference between the Madrasas of the past century and those of today in their structure, syllabus, method of teaching and academic and religious training. These are mostly independent

institutions and some are affiliated to or recognized by Madrasa boards of different states. Some of them are financed entirely by the Muslim community with cash, crop, clothes, equipment and immovable property and others are self-managed. The management system differs from Madrasa to Madrasa and region to region.

After graduation, promising students usually become teachers either in the same or in some other Madrasa on a small monthly salary; some are appointed leaders of prayer in mosques, while others take admission in Unani medical colleges to become Tabibs. A few sit for university oriental examinations and thus start their student life afresh; yet others establish Madrasas of their own, with local children, teaching them the *Koran* and imparting elementary religious education. These are the confirmed status of their placement in life. Since there is no central body to which a Madrasa is affiliated, anyone who has the ability to persuade people to give donations or secure funds from any source, mainly *Dar-ul-Uloom*, Deoband or *Nadwat-ul-Ulama* of Lucknow, can start a Madrasa. In the absence of a central organizational authority, no student is normally asked to produce any kind of migration certificate when he leaves one Madrasa to join another, but has to qualify in an entrance examination. Hence students have open access to any Madrasa but a Madrasa-leaving certificate system exists. Almost every Madrasa has the status of a school or a college or a university of Islamic lore, according to the level of the education provided.

The present day Madrasas could be broadly divided into two categories from the point of view of the curricula they follow: (i) the old and orthodox Madrasas, which are totally based on the orthodox and traditional pattern and continue to teach the same syllabus, i.e., *Dars-i-Nizamiya* existing since the 18th century or so; and (ii) the new and reformed Madrasas, which teach modern subjects along with the traditional ones including some of the *Dars-i-Nizamiya* syllabus. These two categories further consist of (a) junior Madrasas — classes I to VI; and (b) senior Madrasas — classes VII and above including *Dar-ul-Uloom*. Apart from these junior and senior Madrasas, there are (c) Madrasas, which have only morning and evening classes for imparting elementary *Koranic* teaching, and (d) Madrasas having morning and evening classes of Islamic teaching, together with full day modern education like any other government or modern school.

It is also necessary to mention the main characteristics of these Madrasas as observed during our surveys and as also those developed

over time. These are: (a) Most of the Madrasas deny accepting any kind of government recognition or patronage due to their interference, but others are ready to change their technique and methodology without any interference, (b) their approach is essentially conservative and though not impervious to new ideas, they have not always been able to assimilate and adapt modernism; (c) graduates of Madrasas, even those with higher intellectual calibre do not always secure jobs in government or elsewhere; (d) most of these are autonomous bodies and award their own certificates and degrees; (e) Madrasas do not provide the educational return expected from them because generally they face problems of finance, recognition, physical facilities and girls' education; and (f) no universalization has been found among the Madrasas even of one state.

Besides these characteristics, there are some aspects like organization, and finance of Madrasas and composition of their students and teachers, which need to be discussed:

- In large Madrasas, students come from different states of India as well as from foreign countries, such as Nepal, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Iraq, Turkey and most African countries. There is also state and district level migration among students for higher Islamic studies.

- Children coming to Madrasas belong to different economic groups and vary from place to place and region to region, but most of them come from poor families. An overwhelming majority of Madrasa students belong to the economically lower strata, which also include orphan children.

- The Madrasa degrees help them a little to improve their lot but, even after graduating from the most renowned school of theology, it is difficult to get a job in government offices. Now the reformed system is becoming to some extent a source of strength.

- Motivation for the acquisition of modern education is different in different Muslim social groups and even among the parents. The upper stratum of the Muslim community acquires modern education to sustain its monopolistic position and keep its wards among the masses. The lower segment of the Muslim population acquires it to enhance its socio-economic status.

- Most (95%)of the Madrasas are meant only for boys. Hardly five per cent Madrasas are for girls. Many Madrasas are co-

educational up to the lower classes and the organizers have provided separate rooms or buildings for girls.

- *Sunnis, Shias, Mahadavis, Ahl-e-Hadis, Ahmadias, Khojas* and *Bohras* have their own Madrasa systems. Though the *Khojas* and *Ahmadis* prefer to send their children to modern schools and colleges, they also send them to Madrasas for 'Deeni Talim'. *Suni* and *Shia* communities have their separate network of 'Deeni Madrasas'. This is true of the *Bohra* and *Ahmadia* communities as well. This system is well accepted on a community basis.

- Teaching in Madrasas is extremely inefficient, with the result that the students turned out by them are below average in intelligence and even in general knowledge. It should, however, be remembered that the average run of boys who join these institutions come from backward areas and start with a handicap, for want of an educational environment at home. Since these institutions do not receive much financial aid from the government, they employ inefficient and inadequate staff. Even the Madrasas financed by the government have untrained teachers, are understaffed and unable to train their teachers according to the norms prescribed by the government.

Muslim traditional education is dominated by men, but women have a limited place at the senior school level and higher education. So it is essential to discuss the status of women's education.

Islam does not discriminate in education on ground of sex, but Muslim women and girls in India suffer greatly from various social, economic and political factors. The history of Muslim women's education is the history of restrictions. Family restrictions have made it difficult for women to get education in educational institutions despite their willingness. Some Muslims families believe that girls should not get education in modern schools and colleges. They should only receive 'Deeni' education in junior Madrasas or at home. This tendency still continues in most of the families, especially the orthodox lower and middle class families in areas that are heavily concentrated and the villages. Where the veil is still in practice in Muslim families, it is another reason for poor attendance of Muslim girls in educational institutions.

If we look at the medieval period, it becomes evident that women's education was there only for women who belonged to royal or upper class families. It is very difficult to find instances from ordinary

families. The rulers and nobles of medieval India encouraged women's education but it did not percolate to common women, because educational institutions worked mainly for men. Even during British rule, women's education got a setback due to political and social reasons. Some hope was aroused with the start of the national movement. When India achieved independence, the process was started to review the status of education. The Constitution, accordingly, included a provision making education compulsory for all children up to the age of 14. The Constitution gave an impetus to Muslim women as well. Statistics show that the enrollment of Muslim women in traditional and modern institutions has increased, but they are far fewer than men. Education is one of the primary indicators to measure the status of women. Family and social bindings, such as veil, male domination, domestic chores and other family restrictions are supposed to emanate from the lack of education. The National Committee on the Status of Women (1975) holds good for Muslim society as well. Moreover, different committees and commissions such as the Indian Education Commission (1882), Calcutta University Commission (1917), Hartog Committee (1929), University Education Commission (1948), Secondary Education Commission (1952), Hansa Mehta Committee (1961) and Kothari Commission (1964) have made efforts to improve the educational status of women. Moreover, all the Ten Five Year Plans also took the initiative in implementing the educational plans for women. Still, women are behind men in education — traditional or modern.

Efforts of government or non-government organizations have revealed that there has been significant improvement in women's education in independent India, as per statistics given in the Census Reports of 2001. The data highlight that, more than 50 per cent of the girls go in for modern education that cannot be found in traditional education (Madrasas). The modern system has a potential to absorb students irrespective of sex, but the Muslim traditional education system is dominated by male students.

Keeping in view the status of women in the existing Madrasas, there is certainly need for radical reforms. The number of Madrasas reveals that only five per cent are meant for girls, existing in certain states, which is an insignificant number. Social change is needed for the reconstruction of the Muslim traditional system of education. Efforts of government and non-government organizations can only be successful, if the *Ulema*, teachers and particularly parents accept this

challenge and act in its support for the betterment of women's education in either traditional or modern institutions.

Traditional educational institutions are attached mainly to the *Koran* and Islamic theology. Perhaps, Muslim traditional education has not been able to penetrate the depth of the modern system of education as compared to other religious groups. However, Central schemes were launched in May 1993 under 'Area Intensive Programme for Educationally Backward Minorities' and 'Modernization' of Madrasa Education'. But still traditional institutions impart education totally based on their theology — *Koran*, *Sunna* and *Hadis*. This means that Madrasa education stands parallel to modern education.

Traditional education covers religion and allied sciences with some classical languages. Today most of the Madrasas follow *Dars-i-Nizamiya* prescribed by *Dar-ul-Uloom*, Deoband. There is no central agency to award grades. Their parent Madrasas give grades to students. These particular grades from Madrasa to *Dar-ul-Uloom's* education are known as *Hifz*, *Alim*, *Fazil*, *Kamil* and *Maulavi*. These grades do not provide opportunities for government employment. Majority of Madrasa teachers look upon their teaching work as an act of worship and have engaged themselves in it wholly as a religious duty. At *Dar-ul-Ulum Nadwat-ul-Ulama*, Lucknow, some experiments have been made to overhaul the system of traditional education and to introduce temporal sciences and technical training, but these have found no substantial gain. The result of such an inflexible approach is that a great majority of the graduates from these Madrasas are ignorant not only of the advances mankind has made in various fields, but also of what the Orientalists in western countries have said about Islam.

There has been a phenomenal rise in the number of Madrasas due to the basic reason of free education along with other necessities (even board and lodging). Poor villagers are, therefore, inclined to send their children to Madrasas. Since one cannot get a job after completing one's studies here, ambitious students simultaneously seek university degrees. But some universities insist that such students first sit for their oriental examinations to qualify for admission to the proper BA course. Indian universities, barring one or two, do not recognize the certificate of *Fazil* and *Kamil* issued by the Madrasas.

There appears to have been no significant change in the working of these Madrasas even in independent India except with regard to the need for technical education for the students. However,

some Madrasas wanted to introduce science subjects but could not do so because of financial instability. Shortage of funds and opposition from the Mullas and Maulanas have prevented some of the Madrasas from revising their courses to suit individual aptitudes and to attract students of different tastes, predilections and requirements.

Trained teachers are not available in Madrasas because of meagre salaries. The salaries vary between Rs. 800 and Rs. 5000. They are provided with residential facilities. Some feel that it is their religious duty to serve Islam by teaching Arabic or Islamic theology to Muslim children. For want of regular funds, the Madrasas cannot afford to appoint trained teachers. Hence the standard of teaching is unsatisfactory. States' Madrasas boards have made provisions for training teachers of Arabic and Islamic subjects in high Madrasas recognized by them. Despite all this, the efforts are not enough. The subjects discussed in the preceding pages reveal that the Madrasa graduates are considered educationally backward in the present-day situation.

Since independence, the Muslim upper and middle classes, though not all, have remained dissatisfied with the education imparted in Madrasas. On the other hand, the lower and lower middle strata of the community, along with some religious-minded Muslims, support the Madrasas. The emphasis on religious education, at the expense of other education, may be partly due to the realization by the parents about the futility of spending long years in secular schools with no hope of employment after graduation. The child has ultimately to fall back on parental occupation. This trend might have been partly reinforced by the reaction created by the Deeni Talimi Council in North India in late 1959 and early 1969, especially in Uttar Pradesh.

While among a section of the Muslim community, the medieval attitude still persists, many have developed a modern attitude, which regards knowledge as something essential to be sought and discovered and sometimes even invented by the mind, which is stimulated to activity through the acquisition of knowledge. Though the Madrasas are concerned only with religious teaching, yet they have not succeeded in remaining unconcerned with the worldly welfare of the community. Muslims are facing challenges of poverty and erosion of moral strength despite the proliferation of Madrasas. Teachers of Madrasas have little idea of how to harmonize several modern practices with the edicts of Islam. The *Ulema* have not so far cared to ponder over the fact that in their Madrasas they are producing students, who can neither find a

good job for them nor reinforce a modern Muslim's faith in spirituality. Some products of *Dar-ul-Uloom*, Deoband, expressed the opinion that the main purpose of the Madrasas has been to produce religious preachers and only to promote traditional Islamic culture and theological learning in India. The backwardness of Indian Muslims can partly be traced to the kind of education being imparted in these Madrasas.

It is also a fact that a student can join a secular school or university after completing his theological studies but, in practice, this is often difficult to realize because of several factors, such as age; need for employment; personality shyness; previous degree unacceptable for admission and so on. An average or even a brilliant student of a Madrasa becomes one of the *Ulema* between the age of 20 and 25 or a little higher or lower. After getting the highest degree from the Madrasa, the 'promising' ones usually get a teaching job at the same or some other Madrasa, on a salary usually less than Rs.1000 a month; some are appointed 'leaders of prayer' (*Imam*) in mosques; some take admission to (*Unani*) medical colleges to become *Tabib*; a few take the university oriental examinations thus starting studentship afresh; some establish Madrasas of their own with neighbouring children as their students and teach them the *Koran* and other basic elements of Islam.

From the preceding pages one can conclude that Madrasa education is being examined at different levels in the country and useful recommendations are being worked out. Still, the Muslims are interested in Madrasa education. In the context of the current situation in India, the students of independent Madrasas cannot stand on par with those who have received education from the government patronized Madrasa system, in which both modern as well as traditional education are imparted.

The background has revealed that Muslim rule in India had opened a new chapter in the history of education. During that period, although religious education was mandatory, yet scientific, technical, literary and philosophical education were given no less emphasis. Religious and secular education was imparted in the same institutions according to the needs of those days. Muslims have made a significant contribution to the advancement of various branches of scientific knowledge. Such an educationally advanced Muslim community became educationally backward during British rule and this backwardness continues till now.

In order to assess properly whether tradition or religion has led to the decline of the educational position of Muslims, it is important to look at the situation both during British rule and in independent India. In the beginning, the East India Company continued with Persian, which was the court language of the erstwhile rulers. The expansion of territory and more involvement in administrative matters compelled the new rulers to introduce their own language, English, among the masses. English was introduced to meet the need for a large body of employees for clerical work. The new education was, however, not introduced systematically at the mass level, as the schools established by the missionaries, supported by the East India Company, were engaged in imparting modern education basically to propagate Christianity. The result was that Muslims hesitated to utilize the educational opportunities offered by the British, because of the apprehension that such education would make their young men atheists or irreligious. While the Muslims, predisposed not to accept alien ideas, methods and the language of the new rulers, refused to avail themselves of the opportunities offered by the British, the non-Muslims reaped great benefits. Apart from political, social and historical factors, the Muslim religious leaders and scholars also played an important role in diverting the Muslim mind to concentrate purely on religious matters with the caution that their acceptance of any idea or foreign language would go against the tenets of Islam. There is nothing in the *Koran*, which opposes the pursuit of rational education. On the other hand, if Indian Muslims have emphasized only religious education and failed to stick to *Koranic* exhortations, it is not correct to hold religion responsible for the dismal state of their education. Muslims are themselves reluctant to take to modern education because of the complex, which has prevented them from taking full advantage of the opportunities offered in India. Unfortunately, both under the British and in independent India most Indians, more so, the Muslims have often been inclined to rest on their culture. Their progress can again continue, if they re-interpret the basic principles of their faith and learn to apply them to the changed circumstances. This is only possible if the Muslims change their attitude and this is the main condition for the reconstruction of the Madrasa system of education. You cannot make individual and social advances until the educational process is changed and you cannot advance in education without some idea of social reform. Educational and social changes inevitably go together. The advancement of the educational system along with social change is

only possible if the *Ulemas*, teachers and parents accept this reality and act in its support for the betterment of both Muslim education and the community and Indian society as a whole.

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Role of Education in Women's Development: A Study of Punjab

Bindu Duggal

There is discrimination against women as compared to men in all sectors, viz., economic, social, political, legal and educational. Lack of education is the most crucial factor resulting in the inferior status of women. The Constitution and the law guarantee many rights to women, but women are unable to exercise them fully due to their own illiteracy and lack of awareness. The distinct socialization of girls from the beginning also contributes to the easy acceptance by women of their suppression.

Education has been regarded as the most significant instrument for changing women's subjugated position in society. It is an indispensable and a vital component of the empowerment of girls and women. It is the pathway to promote development in social, political, and economic spheres. Realization of the right to education is indeed an essential step in women's quest for true empowerment leading to other stages that automatically follow, i.e., economic, social and political empowerment. It is in fact one of the most important elements, which empower women in society by enabling them to understand and realize their rights. It has been rightly said that educating women is educating the family as a whole.

India has ratified various international conventions and human rights instruments promising equal rights to women. Important among them are:

- The Mexico Plan of Action (1975).
- Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies (1985).
- Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in 1993.
- Beijing Declaration as well as Platform of Action (1995).

Tremendous progress has been made in various fields relating to women from the time of the first world conference in Mexico to the fourth in Beijing in 1995.

The principle of gender equality is enshrined in the Indian Constitution. The Constitution not only grants equality to women but also empowers the state to adopt measures of positive discrimination in favour of women. The Constitution of India contemplates to bring a revolution through the use of law as an instrument of direct change in the status of women. The Preamble of the Constitution of India categorically lays down the principles on which the Constitution is framed. The Principle of Justice, Liberty, Equality and Fraternity are to be established equally and uniformly for all. Article 14 of the Indian Constitution says that all persons, male and female, are equal before the law and shall get equal protection from the law. Article 15 says that there shall be no discrimination against any person on grounds of sex.

From the Fifth Plan onwards (1974-78), there has been a marked shift in the approach to women's issues from welfare to development. In recent years, the empowerment of women has been recognized as the central issue in determining the status of women.

The National Commission for Women was set up by an Act of Parliament in 1990 to safeguard the rights and legal entitlements of women. The 73rd and the 74th Amendments (1993) to the Constitution of India have provided for reservation of seats in local bodies of panchayats and municipalities for women, laying a strong foundation for their participation in decision making at the local level. The Nationalist Perspective Plan for Women (NPP) (1998-2000), drafted by a core group of experts is more or less a long-term policy document advocating a holistic approach for the development of women.

At present, all movements for the welfare of women emphasize the importance of women being given access to education. Literacy and education play a pivotal role in the socio-economic development of women and hence this parameter becomes very relevant to women's empowerment. Mass education and literacy are the hallmarks of modern society. Recognizing this, developing countries generally view education as a necessary and basic ingredient of economic and social development planning. In India, the goal of free and compulsory education up to the age of 14, has been enshrined as a Directive Principle of the Constitution. 'The special attention paid to the education of women and girls in development policies, activities and

projects arise out of the knowledge that ensuring basic education for all, especially the education of women and girls and achieving gender equality are important elements in promoting development and advancement in people's life quality as well as a means to empowering women themselves' (Ankerbo & Hoyda, 2003). The First Education Commission (1964-66) recommended special attention to girl's education. The First National Educational Policy (1968) emphasized the need for equal educational opportunities for women so that they could become the means of social transformation. The National Educational Policy (1986, revised in 1992) also renewed this emphasis on education to be an instrument towards achieving the goal of women's equality.

Not only at the national level, but also at the state level, the government is now working towards women's empowerment. The efforts to formulate the state policy on women in 1996 was the first systematic effort of the Punjab Government aimed at converging the formulation and implementation of programmes relating to women. The state policy on women strives to deal with the challenges of equality, development and peace. 'The main goals of the policy are to sensitize the community on issues relating to gender justice and women's development by making visible the functioning of the gender system' and also 'to bring about a change in the awareness, knowledge and attitude of women, particularly to provide women qualitative access to education, skills, health and property resources'. It also aims at 'women's productive participation in employment and, decision making' and other development activities (Punjab State Policy for Women, 1996).

The Punjab Government aims at achieving women's empowerment through propagation of the following in terms of education:

- Total female literacy.
- Regulating primary education of the girl child.
- Reducing dropouts among the females.
- Providing incentives for acquiring higher education.
- Encouraging women to take up technical and professional courses.

The present paper captures some of the ground realities of women's and girl's current situation in terms of various educational goals identified by the state government, which could prove useful in

forming future government strategies for women in Punjab. The paper also stresses the important issue of women's education as a means to development.

Literacy level is an important attribute of the population and provides the basic measure of people's access to education.

Table 1

Literacy Rate by Sex and Gender Gap in Literacy Rate, 2001

State	Area	Literacy rate		Gender Gap in Literacy Rate
		Male	Female	
India	Total	75.3	53.7	21.6
	Rural	70.7	46.1	24.6
	Urban	86.3	72.9	13.4
Punjab	Total	75.2	63.4	11.9
	Rural	71.0	57.7	13.3
	Urban	83.0	74.5	8.6
Himachal Pradesh	Total	85.3	67.4	17.9
	Rural	84.5	65.7	18.8
	Urban	92.0	85.0	7.0
Haryana	Total	78.5	55.7	22.8
	Rural	75.4	49.3	26.1
	Urban	85.8	71.3	14.5

Source: *Census of India, 2001*

Table 1 exhibits that Punjab has fared well in reducing the gender disparity in its literacy rate. The gender gap is only 11.9 per cent as compared to 21.6 per cent at the national level, 17.9 per cent in Himachal Pradesh and 22.8 per cent in Haryana. Gender disparity is also the lowest in the rural areas of Punjab as compared to the rural areas of Haryana, Himachal Pradesh and at the national level, which shows that there is a remarkable move in Punjab towards gender partnership in development.

Table 2

Literacy Rate, Punjab (1991-2001)

Years	Total	Male	Female
1991	58.51	65.66	50.41
2001	69.95	75.63	63.55

Source: *Census of India (Punjab), 1991-2001.*
Note: Literacy rate has been worked out by excluding 0- 6 age-group

Punjab has fared well in reducing the gap between male and female literacy, which decreased from 15.25 per cent in 1991 to 12.08 per cent in 2001. Male literacy rate increased from 65.66 per cent in 1991 to 75.63 per cent in 2001 and female literacy rate from 50.4 per cent to 63.55 per cent. There has been a rapid increase in the female literacy rate in the period 1991-2001 as compared to the male literacy rate. Female literacy increased by 13.14 per cent points and male literacy by only 9.97 per cent points during the last decade. Female literacy rate in Punjab is also considerably higher than that of India where 54.16 per cent of the females are literate. District-wise picture of literacy is presented in Table 3.

Table 3
Total Literacy and Female Literacy in Districts of Punjab, 2001

District	Literacy Rate	Female Literacy
Punjab	69.95	63.55
Hoshiarpur	81.40	75.56
Rupnagar	78.49	71.74
Jalandhar	77.91	72.93
Nawanshahr	76.86	69.52
Ludhiana	76.54	72.11
Gurdaspur	74.19	67.31
Fatehgarh Sahib	74.10	68.60
Kapurthala	73.56	67.90
Patiala	69.96	62.94
Amritsar	67.85	61.41
Moga	63.94	58.96
Faridkot	63.34	57.09
Bathinda	61.51	53.76
Firozepur	61.42	52.33
Sangrur	60.04	53.29
Muktsar	58.67	50.59
Mansa	52.50	45.07

Source: *Census of India (Punjab), 2001*

Female literacy rate in Punjab is 63.5 per cent. It is the highest in Hoshiarpur (75.56%), the lowest in Mansa (45.07%) and just above the midway mark in Muktsar (50.5%) and Ferozepur (52.33%). Further, there are nine districts in Punjab, with a female literacy rate lower than

the state average. Literacy among the Scheduled Castes is more depressing which is discussed below.

Despite biased policies and continuous efforts of the government, the Scheduled Castes population is still educationally backward. The literacy rate of the Scheduled Castes has been consistently lower than the general population.

Table 4
Literacy Rate by Sex and Gender Gap in Literacy Rate
of the Scheduled Caste Population, 2001

State	Literacy rate		Gender Gap in Literacy
	Male	Female	
Punjab	63.4	48.3	15.1
Himachal Pradesh	80.0	60.4	19.7
Haryana	66.9	42.3	24.7
Kerala	88.1	77.6	10.5
India	66.6	41.9	24.7

Source: *Census of India, 2001*

Although Punjab has considerably reduced the gender gap in literacy among the Scheduled Caste population as compared to the wider gap still existing at the national level and other selected states of Himachal Pradesh and Haryana, yet more than half the female Scheduled Caste population is still illiterate, which is a matter of great concern.

Table 5
Literacy Percentage of Scheduled Castes and Non-Scheduled Castes
in Punjab, 1991

Population Category	Population	Number of Literates	Literacy percentage
Total (SC + Non SC)	16975724	9932116	58.51
Male	9014582	5919225	65.66
Female	7961142	4012891	50.41
SC Population			
Total	4661746	1915554	41.09
Male	2495749	1243394	49.80
Female	2165997	672160	31.03
Non-SC Population			
Total	12313978	8016562	65.10
Male	6518833	4675831	71.70
Female	5795145	3340731	57.60

Source: *Census of India (Punjab), 1991*
Note: Literates have been worked out from total population, excluding 0-6 age group

Female literacy rate of the non-Scheduled Castes (57.6%) is almost double that of the Scheduled Caste women (31.03%) as per the 1991 Census. Hence, it is obvious that the female Scheduled Caste population has adversely affected the total female literacy percentage of the state.

According to the 2001 Census, the total literacy rate of females in Punjab is 63.55 per cent as compared to only 48.3 per cent literacy rate of Scheduled Caste women in Punjab. The literacy rate of Scheduled Caste women is really pathetic in the pockets of Bathinda (12.84%), Faridkot (15.78%), Ferozepur (15.09%) and Sangrur (17.02%).

The Government should, therefore, give priority consideration to improve literacy among Scheduled Castes women especially in identified pockets.

The overall educational profile of females in Punjab is really disappointing, as is reflected in Table 6.

Table 6
Educational Profile of Punjab, 1991

Educational Level	Total	Male	Female
Illiterate	51.0	45.1	57.8
Literate without formal schooling	0.3	0.4	0.3
Below Primary	10.3	11.1	9.5
Primary	13.7	13.9	13.4
Middle	8.7	10.5	7.1
Matriculation/Secondary	10.3	12.7	7.5
Higher Secondary/Senior Secondary	2.1	2.5	1.7
Non-technical Diploma	0.9	0.1	0.1
Technical Diploma	0.3	0.4	0.3
Graduation and above	2.9	3.4	2.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: *Socio-cultural Tables, Census of India (Punjab), 1991*
Note:Based on total population

Fifty-eight per cent of the females were completely illiterate according to the 1991 Census. Nearly 23 per cent of the women had studied only up to the primary level or below, seven per cent up to the middle level and eight per cent up to matriculation. Only 2.4 per cent of the total female population had studied up to the graduate level or above. These figures are alarming and show that the overall picture of higher education in Punjab was poor till 1991; however, the proportion

of females has increased in higher and professional education in 2001. A major conclusion drawn from the above table is that the gap between male and female education is narrow up to the primary level and the middle level but widens at the secondary and higher levels. So there is need for government intervention at this level to improve the education of females.

It would be useful to supplement the status of women in relation to education by looking at other measures like enrollment at various stages of education, in order to gauge the extent to which women have real access to instruments of development that accelerate their progress on the path of development. In reality, education of the girl child is the best remedy to correct the imbalance in gender equality.

The position of Punjab in respect of enrollment of girls is indicated in the Table 7.

Table 7
Enrollment of Total Students in Recognized Institutions, 1980-2001

Year	Total Students (In Lakhs)		
	Boys	Girls	Total
1980-81	17.4	13.1	30.6
1990-91	20.0	15.9	36.1
1999-2000	21.1	18.5	39.6
2000-01	21.0	18.5	39.5

Source: *Director Public Instruction, Schools, Punjab*; cf Economic Survey of Punjab, 2001

Total enrollment of students in recognized institutions increased from 30.6 lakh in 1980-81 to 39.48 lakh in 2000. Enrollment of girls increased from 13.1 lakh in 1980 to 15.9 lakh in 1991 and reached 18.55 lakh in 1999-2000. It marginally decreased to 18.47 lakh in 2000-2001, whereas the enrollment of boys increased from 17.4 lakh in 1980 to 20.0 lakh in 1990 and only to 21.01 lakh in 2001. The increase in enrollment has been more in the case of girls (5.37 lakh) than boys (3.61 lakh) during 1980-2001, reflecting that a positive achievement has been made in raising the enrollment of girls in educational institutions.

It was also felt appropriate to study age-specific enrollment ratios in the age group 6-14 (Table 8). The data revealed that in the age group 6-11, the enrollment rate was 75 per cent for boys and 73 per cent for girls and 74 per cent in the state as a whole. Almost the same proportions of males and females attend schools at ages 6-11, but at ages

11-14, the enrollment rates among boys are slightly higher (72%) as compared to 66 per cent among girls, which shows that the gap between males and females starts to widen when the age increases, i.e., the proportion of girls attending school decreases with age while for boys it remains more or less stable

Although Punjab's female enrollment figures are higher than the national figure and Haryana, it is still behind states like Kerala and Himachal Pradesh (Table 8).

Table 8
Age-specific Enrollment Ratios in Select States, 1993-94

States	6 to 11			11 to 14			6 to 14		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Punjab	74.99	72.91	74.01	72.18	65.82	69.19	73.96	70.31	72.24
Haryana	71.07	67.24	69.27	63.56	52.82	58.65	68.33	62.13	65.45
H.P	86.96	82.87	84.95	87.10	76.74	82.05	81.02	80.52	83.84
Kerala	84.74	82.12	83.44	94.98	93.67	94.33	88.75	86.63	87.70
India	73.20	59.13	66.40	65.02	48.20	57.06	70.33	55.40	63.17

Source: *Sixth All India Education Survey, 1999,* Data pertains to 1993-94

At the 10+2 level a large majority of girls (73%) continue to enroll only in traditional courses such as arts and a very small proportion (13%) opt for science, six per cent for commerce and five per cent for vocational courses. There are significant urban-rural differences emerging in the choice of subjects. The percentage of children opting for science and commerce is comparatively higher in urban than in rural areas. (See Table 9).

Vocational streams are most important from the point of view of enhancing the employability, quality of employment and participation in other forms of social development. Vocationalization of higher secondary education was the major objective of the reforms envisaged in the education policy. It, however, seems that attempts made so far have not borne fruit and enrollment in the vocational stream, which was expected to reach 50 per cent at the 10+2 level, has remained marginal, as only five per cent of the girls opt for it in both rural and urban areas.

Although there is no denying the fact that the basic education of girls and women improves key development outcomes, yet women's empowerment can truly be achieved if girls are educated up to higher levels. Recent studies have found that there is a minimum threshold of

education (more than five or six years) that must be achieved before there are significant improvements in female autonomy (Jejeebhoy, 1995) and particularly in a highly gender-stratified society such as India (Jeffery and Basu, 1996; Jejeebhoy, 1995). The International Centre for Research on Women (ICRW) also reflects upon the fact that secondary or higher levels of schooling have the greatest payoff. Higher education provides 'an opportunity to react on critical social, economic, cultural, moral and spiritual issues facing humanity. It contributes to national development through dissemination of specialized knowledge and skill. It is, therefore, a crucial factor for survival (Gupta, 1993). During the Five Year Plans, there has been greater emphasis attached to the expansion of educational facilities for women. Consequently women's enrollment in higher education in Punjab seems to have improved over the years. (See Table 10).

Although the desired dispersal of girls to various streams of education still awaits encouragement and the percentage of girls opting for higher studies is still very low (the gender gap starts to widen at the matriculation level and as they move towards higher education), however, it cannot be denied that if the trend is viewed, there has been a consistent increase in the number of girls at the higher levels of education. Educational improvement has been across the board in all fields of study, be it in the faculties of arts, commerce, science or engineering. The percentage of girls joining post-graduate levels to the total enrollment in arts have increased from 36.7 in 1971 to 71.4 in 2002 and the percentage of girls doing doctorate degrees have also increased from 7.7 in 1971 to 62.1 in 2002. Similarly in engineering too, their proportion has risen from 0.4 per cent to 18.5 per cent in 2002. Of the total number of students enrolled in medical courses, it is incredible that the proportion of girls is nearly as high as that of boys.

While commendable improvement has been made and a phenomenal growth in the enrollment of girls in higher education has taken place, much still needs to be done to further encourage more and more girls to study up to the higher levels. The achievements made also seem to be inadequate in the area of vocational education and skill development. The security provided by degree-oriented education and the corresponding reluctance to pursue skill-imparting programmes and the qualitative and quantitative shortfalls in training programmes contribute to the problem. The overall level of certified skill attainment among Indian women is negligible, with not even one per cent of the main women workers having either a technical or non-technical diploma.

Table 9
Enrollment According to the Type of Courses at 10+2 Stage, 1993-94

Area		Arts		Science		Commerce		Agriculture		Vocational/ Technical		Others		Total	
		T	G	T	G	T	G	T	G	T	G	T	G	T	G
Rural	XI &	32862	10975	2527	942	1212	337	246	73	2852	705	1465	359	41164	13391
	XII	(79.8)	(81.9)	(6.1)	(7.0)	(2.9)	(2.5)	(0.6)	(0.5)	(6.9)	(5.3)	(3.6)	(2.6)	(100.0)	(100.0)
Urban	XI &	59524	28723	13692	6068	7435	2704	127	54	5583	2093	3747	1180	90108	40822
	XII	(66.0)	(70.4)	(15.2)	(14.9)	(8.3)	(6.6)	(0.1)	(0.1)	(6.2)	(5.1)	(4.2)	(2.9)	(100.0)	(100.0)
Total	XI &	92386	39698	16219	7010	8647	3041	373	127	8435	2798	5212	1539	131272	54213
	XII	(70.4)	(73.2)	(12.4)	(12.9)	(6.6)	(5.6)	(0.3)	(0.2)	(6.4)	(5.2)	(3.9)	(2.8)	(100.0)	(100.0)

Source: *Sixth All India Education Survey, 1999, Data pertains to 1993-94*

Table 10

Percentage of Girls to the Total Students Enrolled in Higher Education, 2001

Year	Ph.D	M.Phil	M.A	M.Sc	M.Com	B.A/B.A (Hons)	B.Sc/B.Sc (Hons)	B.Com/ B.com(Hons)	B.E/B.Sc (Engg.)	M.B.B.S	B.Ed
1971	7.7	-	36.7	32.0	0.0	32.5	18.1	0.1	0.4	24.0	60.4
1980	45.1	50.3	51.1	48.6	19.0	45.1	30.4	5.9	1.8	26.5	62.6
1990	50.0	57.4	58.9	56.0	49.0	56.0	46.3	31.3	8.0	41.6	69.0
2000	62.5	73.9	68.8	69.9	74.0	54.4	53.8	46.5	18.5	47.2	70.6
2002	62.1	63.9	71.4	73.5	81.0	53.6	55.7	44.4	18.5	49.8	69.9

Source: *Computed from Statistical Abstract of Punjab 2001; Economic Advisor to Government of Punjab, Chandigarh*

Table 11
Dropout Rate in Punjab, 1988-1999

Year	Primary (I-V)			Elementary (I-VIII)			Secondary (I – X)			Senior Secondary (I – XII)		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1988-89	29.20	29.62	29.39	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1991-92	29.83	30.25	30.02	33.12	41.29	36.90	-	-	-	-	-	-
1992-93	31.05	31.85	31.42	42.77	48.40	45.38	-	-	-	-	-	-
1993-94	20.69	22.94	21.74	36.15	72.78	39.23	44.88	52.81	48.54	-	-	-
1994-95	22.63	22.94	22.74	37.68	43.01	40.15	51.54	56.88	54.01	-	-	-
1995-96	22.83	22.61	22.73	38.16	43.58	40.66	51.03	54.29	52.54	79.58	83.27	81.28
1996-97	24.03	21.76	22.97	31.29	35.82	33.41	51.39	54.71	52.93	80.00	82.93	81.40
1997-98	25.21	22.28	23.84	26.56	30.50	28.40	46.89	50.10	48.37	76.28	79.28	77.60
1998-99	22.86	20.62	21.79	26.75	29.28	27.92	39.99	44.35	42.03	76.43	79.47	77.84

Source: Directorate of Secondary Education, Punjab, 1999.

A major educational problem facing both boys and girls in India is that although they may be enrolled at the beginning of the year, they do not always remain in school. Therefore, enrollment by itself is no panacea if children do not continue education beyond a few years. Dropout is in fact an indicator of wastage in education. (For details see Table 11).

The dropout rate was higher among girls than boys till 1995 at the primary level, but thereafter, there has been a decline in the dropout rates of girls. Girl's retention rates have been consistently higher than that of the boys at the primary level after 1995. Till very recently, the dropout rates were always against girl students, though over the years, the dropout rates have been coming down, more rapidly in case of girls than boys, reflecting a move towards equity at the primary level. However, when girls reach elementary level, the proportion of girls dropping out increases. Similarly, at the secondary and the senior secondary levels, the dropouts are more among girls than boys. Efforts are, therefore, required to lower the dropout rate and increase the retention rate of girls at the elementary and senior levels.

The major reasons for dropouts, identified by the Directorate of Education are: i) poverty, ii) large family, iii) lack of inspiration/interest/awareness or disinterest among parents and children, iv) illness/death/desertion/emigration of either of parents, v) lack of teachers/infrastructure in schools, vi) study curriculum uninspiring/dull/difficult, vii) teachers/rude/uninterested viii) timing not convenient, and ix) access to school difficult/far away, etc. In addition to the reasons mentioned above, field studies carried out by CRRID, also suggest that many parents still hesitate to send girls to co-educational institutions and are particularly averse to those in which there are no women teachers. In Punjab there are 48 per cent such schools. Elder daughters taking care of the younger brothers and sisters was another reason of girls' dropout. Parent's negative mindset toward educating daughters was also an obstacle to a girl's education. Another reason for the high dropout rate at the middle and higher level was the non-availability of high schools in the village, or nearby villages, and lack of female teachers in the schools. The government should, therefore, frame a policy of rationalizing upgradation of schools so as to ensure that the girl child has access to higher education within a reasonable distance. The yardstick need not be the same for girls and boys, as parents generally do not want to send their daughters to distant

schools. State intervention becomes important in not just providing sound education, economic incentives and committed teachers, but also in tackling the socio-cultural impediments.

The National Policy of Education provides that 'The education of girls should receive emphasis not only on grounds of social justice but also because it accelerates social transformation.' The government's national policy also laid down that 'the education system must produce young men and women of character and ability committed to national service and development, only then will education be able to play its role in promoting national progress'. As a result of the implementation of the National Committee on Women's Education and as a result of the implementation of the special programmes for girls' education under various Five Year Plans, women's education in India expanded rapidly. Women who attained education, raised their awareness level, knowledge, attitude and participation regarding issues concerning the family, reflecting their ability to take decisions, and all this is an indicator of their development and empowerment. Even the analysis of Indian Census data by Dreze and Sen (1995) showed that female literacy led to a statistically significant improvement in under-five mortality among children and that both female literacy and female labourforce participation reduced gender disparities in under-five mortality. They suggest that access to education and to paid work were both likely to increase women's capacity to act to promote their children's survival chances. Moreover, the effect in relation to gender disparities in child survival in India suggests that these forms of access may also affect women's own preferences and priorities, in this case, leading them to reduce discrimination against daughters. Dreze and Murthi (2001) 'estimate that female literacy is likely to have contributed to 24 per cent of the fertility decline in India between the 1981-1991 Census, while a decrease in child mortality, which can be regarded as an index of child health, is likely to have accounted for 29 per cent of the decline' (Kabeer, 2005).

Maternal education not only positively determines child's health but education too, which has been very clearly brought out in the study conducted by Dighe in 1998, who reported that 'women who had completed basic education were able to make use of health facilities and service for their children and had a higher interest in sending their children to school' (cf. Ankerbo and Hoyda, 2003).

Coming specifically to Punjab, there is again much evidence to show that whenever women have been empowered, the implementation of family planning programmes has also been much more effective and parameters like RCH, MMR, etc., have shown considerable improvement.

As per the findings of the NFHS conducted in Punjab (India) in 1998-99, educational levels of women in the study have an important influence on their demographic and health seeking behaviour. The educated try to limit the size of their families, whereas the illiterates do otherwise. The educational attainment of women affects their fertility levels. Total Fertility Rate (TFR) is 1.45 children higher among illiterate women than among women who have completed at least high school. The TFR falls steadily with rise in education. Contraceptive prevalence in Punjab also differs greatly with female education. Son preference also declines with the increase in education. It is relatively weak among women who have completed at least middle school. The mean ideal number of children is also the highest, 2.5-2.6, among illiterate women and is the lowest, 2.0, among women who have completed at least high school. Infant mortality rate in Punjab declines sharply with increasing education of mothers, ranging from a high of 73 deaths per 1000 live births for illiterate mothers to a low of 35 deaths per 1000 live births for mothers who have completed high school. In the case of most of the other infant and child mortality rates too, children of mothers who are illiterate are at least twice as likely to die as children of mothers who have completed at least high school. There is also a positive relationship between mother's education and children's vaccination coverage. Only 55 per cent of the children of illiterate mothers are fully vaccinated as compared to 93 per cent of children whose mothers have completed high school, indicating their greater awareness level. Undernutrition among children also decreases substantially as the mother's education increases. Children whose mothers are illiterate are about three times likely to be stunted and four times likely to be underweight or wasted than children whose mothers have completed at least high school.

The study conducted by CRRID on 'The Assessment of the Impact of Women Specific and Women Related Schemes in the State of Punjab, 2000' shows that in several cases, better-educated women initiate decisions for themselves as also contribute to the household economy.

The proportion of family planning acceptors increases with improvement in the educational profile of the wife is reported in yet another study conducted by CRRID entitled 'A Comparative Study of Socio-economic and Demographic Status of Muslim and Hindu Migrants in Ludhiana'.

Many other studies also show that increase in the educational profile of women enhances their fruitful participation in economic activities. Education of women leads to greater awareness and enhances their decision-making and participation, which is reflected by the fact that educated women reduce the number of childbirths and improves their family health and children's education. Their lack of discrimination between sons and daughters speaks of their broadened vision and a change in their mindset.

All the studies cited above actually reflect that maternal education improves investment in children's health and education. The studies also highlight a close association of women's education with liberal progressive thinking and, therefore, they stress the need for educating the girls and consider it as the most important mode of development. It is only through the attainment of education that traditional stereotyped notions will change and thereby benefit the women's household and society. In fact, increasing girls' primary education to begin with, and women's higher education eventually, should be the fundamental policy goal that each state should try to achieve, because there is widespread agreement that women's education has a deep effect on human development.

Conclusion

As far as the present situation of women's education in Punjab is concerned, efforts are being made to provide equal access to education to girls by universalizing education, increasing their enrollment and retention rates and by reducing the gender gap in literacy. However, there is still need for special drives for the education of girl children belonging to the Scheduled Castes and for combating dropout of girls at the elementary and secondary levels of schooling. Special emphasis should also be given to districts with low literacy rates so that, with improved education, women can add value to the agenda of development.

Although wide gaps still exist between the targeted goals and the ground realities in the status of women in Punjab, significant advance has been made in women's education. There has been progress in improving educational attainment of girls over the last several

decades and a consistent improvement has also been made in higher education of girls, nevertheless, it cannot be denied that girls' enrollment in higher education is still quite low and they have a long way to go. Their achievements are also inadequate in the area of vocational education and skill development. Concerted efforts are required to encourage girls not only to attend school, but also to continue with it till the higher levels, so that they attain higher/professional/technical qualifications. The state government must begin investing in girls' and women's post-primary education, if they are to achieve the third Millennium Development Goal (MDG) of gender equality and women's empowerment.

It is, therefore, only through women's education that a change in their status from a mere beneficiary to a participant in the development process will be brought about. In fact, women's education alone will have a most profound effect on human development. It will enhance their knowledge, awareness and ability to take decisions. It will empower them in areas where there is inadequacy and build their capacity to expand. Therefore, the emphasis on girls' education and more so on higher education in Punjab needs to continue, so that it keeps enhancing women's capabilities, choices and opportunities, so that they lead a life of respect and value.

Recommendations

- **Changing the mindset of parents:** As far as the social and cultural handicaps of enrollment and retention of girls in schools is concerned, NGOs and PRIs need to be associated effectively to initiate an attitudinal change in the parents of the girl child.

- **Launch special drives for education of girl children belonging to the Scheduled Castes:** Such drives will help in further reducing the gender gap. Special emphasis should be given to districts with low literacy rates.

- **Motivate girls to continue education up to higher levels and join technical/professional courses:** Participation of girls in higher education has no doubt improved, but it is still very low and those who go in for higher education continue to participate only in traditional courses like arts and humanities. More girls should be encouraged to continue till higher levels and participate in technical and professional courses, and for this, guidance cells, awareness and motivation programmes in schools/colleges should be organized to provide them insights

into various opportunities and branches available which they could opt for, as future career as per their interest.

- **Enhancing school enrollment through the teachers:** Enrollment and retention of the girl child in the age group 6-14 would improve considerably, if the teachers were motivated to ensure that more girls came forward for attending school and the dropout ratio was brought to the minimum. With a view to motivating the teacher effectively, she/he has to be given monetary and non-monetary incentives. Monetary incentive can be in the form of honorarium at a rate to be fixed by the state for each girl child enrolled and retained in the school up to the prescribed age level of 14 years. The non-monetary incentives can be honouring such teachers through awards to be given at different levels, i.e., samiti level, zila level and the state level.

- **Construction of a gender-sensitive curriculum:** In order to attain gender equity, it is not sufficient to just provide access to schooling. 'It is crucial to reform the school curriculum, making it gender-sensitive, so that gender relations are improved. It has been recognized that a gender-sensitive curriculum must aim at eliminating gender stereotypes and construct new ways of viewing and establishing social relations between men and women. A primary goal in the process of reforming the curriculum, is the rewriting of textbooks which should contain a number of crucial issues concerning gender, in order to provide the schoolgirls with female role models' (Stromquist et. al.1998 cf. ICRW).

- **Changing through media:** A sustained campaign through the print and electronic media is necessary on various issues relating to women's education and the value of the girl child. Field visits conducted by CRRID revealed that a majority of women were not aware of various welfare programmes being implemented in Punjab for their benefit. So the media should propagate such welfare schemes. The media, in fact, can serve a very important role in making women aware of their rights and duties. In fact the government should allot some funds for propagating such activities.

- **Special incentives for girls to join vocational courses at the school level itself:** Start skill upgradation at a younger age.

- **Gender data bank:** There should be gender-segregated data in various indices of development at the state, district and sub-district levels. In fact, Punjab could set up a resource centre to provide updated information regarding women's empowerment in areas of health, education, politics, economics and other social activities. It can also act as a documentation and information unit. It can also conduct capacity building programmes aimed at raising the status of women.

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Redefining the Role of Women in Education, Health and Demographic Change in Haryana during 1990s

V N Attri

The basic attribute of globalization is to integrate the world economy through economic and social development. The World Development Report 2006 analyses the relationship between equity and development. If China and India are excluded in the 1930's, global inequalities have risen in terms of poverty, health, education and demographic change across the nations. A prosperous and equitable world implies the absence of inequality traps in terms of political inequalities, socio-cultural inequalities and economic inequalities. The interaction among the three is depicted by the following figure:
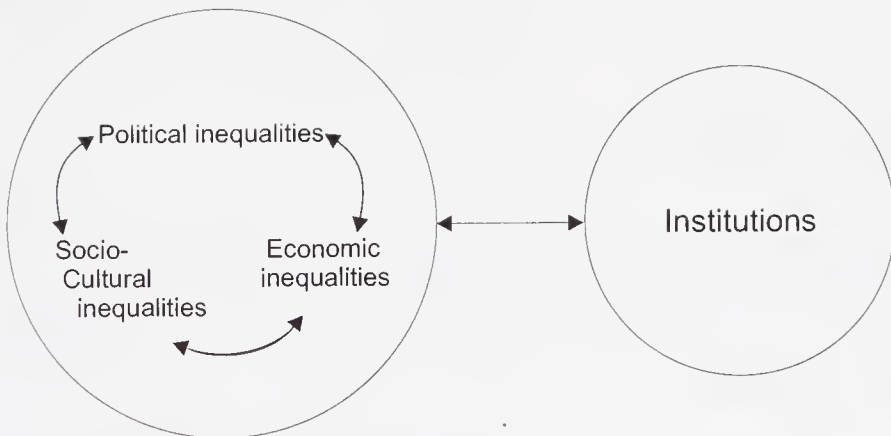
Adapted from World Development Report, 2006

The interaction of political, economic and socio-cultural inequalities shapes the institutions and rules in all societies. The institutions in the developing countries, due to unequal power, shape institutions and policies that tend to foster the persistence of the initial conditions (Figure).

These inequalities adversely affect women. Let us consider the status of women in particular societies. Women are often denied property and inheritance rights. They also have their freedom of movement restricted by social norms. These social inequalities have economic consequences: girls are less likely to be sent to school; and this is more severe in the rural areas as compared to the urban areas. Women are less likely to work outside the home. All these reduce women's empowerment. They are less likely to participate in important decision-making within and outside the home.

Women have the right to the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health. The enjoyment of this right is vital to their lives and well-being and their ability to participate in all areas of public and private life. Health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity. Women's health involves their emotional, social and physical well-being and is determined by the social, political and economic context of their lives, as well as by biology. However, health and well-being elude a majority of women. A major barrier for women to the achievement of the highest attainable standard of health is inequality, both between men and women and among women in different geographical regions, social classes and indigenous and ethnic groups. In national and international forums, women have emphasized that to attain optimal health throughout the life cycle, equality, including the sharing of family responsibilities, development and peace are necessary conditions.

Women have different and unequal access to and use of basic health resources, including primary health services for the prevention and treatment of childhood diseases, malnutrition, anaemia, diarrhoeal diseases, communicable diseases, malaria and other tropical diseases and tuberculosis, among others. Women also have different and unequal opportunities for the protection, promotion and maintenance of their health. In many developing countries, the lack of emergency obstetric services is also of particular concern. Health policies and programmes often perpetuate gender stereotypes and fail to consider socio-economic disparities and other differences among women and may not fully take account of the lack of autonomy of women regarding their health. Women's health is also affected by gender bias in the health system and by the provision of inadequate and inappropriate medical services to women.

In many countries, especially developing countries, in particular the least developed countries, a decrease in public health spending and, in some cases, structural adjustment, contribute to the deterioration of public health systems. In addition, privatization of health-care systems, without appropriate guarantees of universal access to affordable health care, further reduces health-care availability. This situation not only directly affects the health of girls and women, but also places disproportionate responsibilities on women, whose multiple roles, including their roles within the family and the community, are often not acknowledged; hence they do not receive the necessary social, psychological and economic support.

Women's right to the enjoyment of the highest standard of health must be secured throughout the whole life cycle in equality with men. Women are affected by many of the same health conditions as men, but women experience them differently. The prevalence among women of poverty and economic dependence, their experience of violence, negative attitudes towards women and girls, racial and other forms of discrimination, the limited power many women have over their sexual and reproductive lives and lack of influence in decision-making are social realities which have an adverse impact on their health. Lack of food and inequitable distribution of food for girls and women in the household, inadequate access to safe water, sanitation facilities and fuel supplies, particularly in the rural and poor urban areas, and deficient housing conditions, all overburden women and their families and have a negative effect on their health. Good health is essential for leading a productive and fulfilling life, and the right of all women to control all empowerment.

Discrimination against girls, often resulting from son preference, in access to nutrition and health-care services endangers their current and future health and well-being. Conditions that force girls into early marriage, pregnancy and child-bearing and subject them to harmful practices, such as female genital mutilation, pose grave health risks. Adolescent girls need, but too often do not have, access to necessary health and nutrition services as they mature. Counselling and access to sexual and reproductive health information and services for adolescents are still inadequate or lacking completely, and a young woman's right to privacy, confidentiality, respect and informed consent is often not considered. Adolescent girls are both biologically and

psychosocially more vulnerable than boys to sexual abuse, violence and prostitution, and to the consequences of unprotected and premature sexual relations. The trend towards early sexual experience, combined with a lack of information and services, increases the risk of unwanted and too early pregnancy, HIV infection and other sexually transmitted diseases, as well as unsafe abortions. Early child-bearing continues to be an impediment to improvement in the educational, economic and social status of women in all parts of the world. Overall, for young women, early marriage and early motherhood can severely curtail educational and employment opportunities and are likely to have a long-term, adverse impact on the quality of their lives and the lives of their children. Young men are often not educated to respect women's self-determination and to share responsibility with women in matters of sexuality and reproduction.

Reproductive health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity, in all matters relating to the reproductive system and to its functions and processes. Reproductive health, therefore, implies that people are able to have a satisfying and safe sex life and that they have the capability to reproduce and the freedom to decide if, when and how often to do so. Implicit in this last condition are the rights of men and women to be informed and to have access to safe, effective, affordable and acceptable methods of family planning of their choice, as well as other methods of their choice for regulation of fertility which are not against the law, and the right of access to appropriate health-care services that will enable women to go safely through pregnancy and childbirth and provide couples with the best chance of having a healthy infant. In line with the above definition of reproductive health, reproductive health care is defined as the constellation of methods, techniques and services that contribute to reproductive health and well-being by preventing and solving reproductive health problems. It also includes sexual health, the purpose of which is the enhancement of life and personal relations, and not merely counselling and care, related to reproduction and sexually transmitted diseases.

Bearing in mind the above definition, reproductive rights embrace certain human rights that are already recognized in national laws, international human rights documents and other consensus

documents. These rights rest on the recognition of the basic right of all couples and individuals to decide freely and responsibly the number, spacing and timing of their children and to have the information and means to do so, and the right to attain the highest standard of sexual and reproductive health. It also includes their right to make decisions concerning reproduction, free of discrimination, coercion and violence, as expressed in human rights documents. In the exercise of this right, they should take into account the needs of their living and future children and their responsibilities towards the community. The promotion of the responsible exercise of these rights for all people should be the fundamental basis of government and community supported policies and programmes in the area of reproductive health, including family planning. As part of their commitment, full attention should be given to the promotion of mutually respectful and equitable gender relations, particularly to meeting the educational and service needs of the adolescents to enable them to deal in a positive and responsible way with their sexuality. Reproductive health eludes many of the world's people because of such factors as: inadequate levels of knowledge about human sexuality and inappropriate or poor-quality reproductive health information and services; the prevalence of high-risk sexual behaviour; discriminatory social practices; negative attitudes towards women and girls; and the limited power many women and girls have over their sexual and reproductive lives. Adolescents are particularly vulnerable because of their lack of information and access to relevant services in most countries. Older women and men have distinct reproductive and sexual health issues which are often inadequately addressed.

The human rights of women include their right to have control over and decide freely and responsibly on matters related to their sexuality, including sexual and reproductive health, free of coercion, discrimination and violence. Equal relationships between women and men in matters of sexual relations and reproduction, including full respect for the integrity of the person, require mutual respect, consent and shared responsibility for sexual behaviour and its consequences.

Women's education includes parity with men. They should have equal opportunity in all types of education and training programmes. They must be paid wages/remuneration equal to men for the same job. Their political participation should also be increased.

As part of universal education, girls should also be 100 per cent school-going and their drop-out should be checked at the primary, middle and high school-levels.

The sex ratio (females per 1000 males) and the child-sex ratio (0-6) should increase and the gaps in male-female literacy should also be narrowed. This will definitely strengthen and ensure gender-equity which is one of the most important aspects of development with equity. The difference between rural and urban women in their ready access to organizations and support groups is a reality and this should be minimized. In a nutshell, women's voice in health and education reforms should not be lost, as women's contribution to the development process is enviable.

The Government of India's National Policy on Education (NPE) (1986) was modified in 1992. It is a forthright statement on education as an empowering agent. The country has reached a stage in its economic and technical development where a major effort must be made to derive the maximum benefit from the assets already created and to ensure that the fruits of development reach all sections. The National Policy on Education focuses on a number of thrust areas which inter-alia include education and equality at all stages of education, open learning system, promoting efficiency and effectiveness at all levels and making the system work through effective management of education. The Central Government in its NPE (1992) also directed the State Programme of Action (State POA); in 1994 Haryana initiated its own programme. As a consequence of this, literacy rate in Haryana has risen to 55.85 per cent as compared to the national average of 52.21 per cent in 1991. This has to be viewed in the context of the fact that at the time of reorganization in 1966, the state's literacy rate (19.92%, Census 1961) was lower than the national average (27.76%, Census 1961). In 2001, the male and female literacy rate, were 79.3 per cent and 56.3 per cent respectively, whereas the total literacy rate was 67.91 per cent. The female literacy rate was only 11.3 per cent in 1961, which rose to 22.3 per cent in 1981 and further to 56.3 per cent in 1991. This implies that though women's role in education in Haryana has been rising, yet it is much below the expected and desirable literacy rate of females in advanced nations/regions.

Another serious problem is the declining sex ratio in Haryana. It is only 861, the lowest in the country. Although the enrollment of girls at all levels of schooling has improved since the inception of the state,

yet it remains low. The drop-out rate among girls at the elementary stage is high and the percentage of girls going for education at the secondary and college stage is low. The number of girls going for higher or professional education is still very small. Special efforts need to be made to increase the access to higher education for this section. The Planning Commission has recommended an expenditure of six per cent of the GDP on education, whereas the state has been able to allocate only 2.1 per cent of state GDP. A paradigm shift is required in the allocation of resources for education which, should ideally reach six per cent of the GDP. Private initiative must play an equally important role in the field of education. There should be proper private-public mix and girls' education should get priority, which in turn would strengthen women's participation in health related programmes. As the data reveal, the growth of health care in Haryana has not been impressive; and there seems to be strong urban-rural divide in the case of women. The NGOs in Haryana should make special efforts to highlight the gaps in women's education and health. Girls should be provided a favourable environment in the state to make them feel better in making decisions. The performance of Haryana on Human Development Radar (Fig. 5) is dismal and should be improved.

Suggestions to Improve Women's Role in Education, Health and Demographic Changes:

- The state government should accord topmost priority to universalization of elementary education and take all necessary steps to achieve this objective by the year 2010.

- The State should make an effort towards achieving a substantial increase in both public and private investments in education and health, so that the public investment goes up to six per cent of GDP by the year 2010 A.D. and that total investment including private goes up to 12 per cent of the GDP in the same period.

- The state government at all levels and, where appropriate in co-operation with NGOs, especially women's and youth organizations, should increase budgetary allocations for primary health care and social services, with adequate support for secondary and tertiary levels and give special attention to the reproductive and sexual health of girls and women and priority to health programmes in rural and poor urban areas.

- Develop innovative approaches to funding health services through promoting community participation and local financing; increase, where necessary, budgetary allocations for community health centres and community based programmes and services that address women's specific health needs.

- Develop local health services, promoting the incorporation of gender-sensitive community-based participation and self-care and specially designed preventive health programmes.

- Develop goals and time-frames, where appropriate, for improving women's health and for planning, implementing, monitoring and evaluating programmes, based on gender-impact assessments, using qualitative and quantitative data disaggregated by sex, age, other established demographic criteria and socio-economic variables.

In my opinion, adoption and implementation of the above suggestions, emerging out of the study, will definitely help in redefining the role of women in education, health and demographic changes in the state and the nearby regions.

Table 1
Growth of Students in Schools of Haryana (Classwise) (1971-2004)

Class	Sex	Gross Enrollment Ratio	Growth Rates
I to V	Boys	80.78	1.501
	Girls	81.23	4.018
	Total	80.98	2.476
VI to VIII	Boys	70.28	2.394
	Girls	63.97	5.907
	Total	67.33	3.562
IX to XII	Boys		4.634
	Girls		7.788
	Total		5.608
All India	Boys	97.53	
	Girls	93.07	
	Total	95.39	

Source: Statistical Abstract Haryana, issued by Economical and Statistical Adviser, Planning Department, Government of Haryana (various issues)

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Figure 1
Precentage of School Going Children
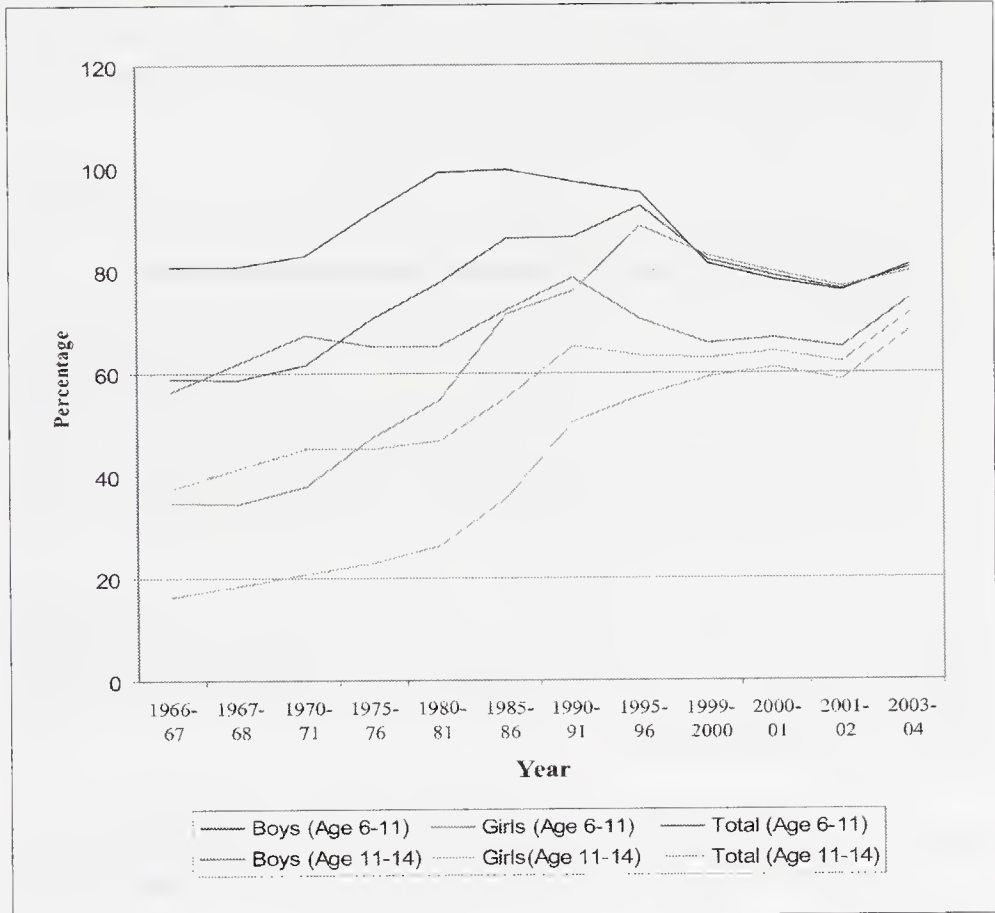
Source: The above figure has been prepared on the basis of data from Statistical Abstract
Haryana, issued by Economical and Statistical Adviser, Planning Department,
Government of Haryana (various issues).

Table 2
Growth of Students in Recognized Colleges (Arts, Science and Home Science)
for General Education (1967-2004)

Students	Sex	Growth Rate
Total Students (Including Scheduled Castes)	Total	4.487
	Boys	3.336
	Girls	6.867
Scheduled Castes Students	Total	6.278
	Boys	5.311
	Girls	12.268

Source: As in Table 1.

Table 3
Growth of Strength of Teachers in Schools of Haryana
1971-2004

Type of Institution	Sex	Growth Rate
High/Senior Secondary/ Multi-purpose	Male	2.809
	Female	5.010
	Total	3.581
Middle/Senior Basic Schools	Male	0.012
	Female	0.921
	Total	0.305
Primary/Junior Basic/Pre-primary and Balwari Schools	Male	2.735
	Female	6.093
	Total	4.042
Grand Total	Male	2.431
	Female	4.983
	Total	3.362

Source: As in Table 1.

Table 4
Male and Female Literacy Rates in Haryana: 1961-2001

Year	Sex	Literacy Rate
1961	Male	35.1
	Female	11.3
	Total	23.2
1971	Total	25.7
1981	Male	48.2
	Female	22.3
	Total	37.1
1991	Total	55.8
2001	Male	79.3
	Female	56.3
	Total	67.9

Source: As in Table 1.

Table 5
Growth of Health Institutions and Staff in Haryana: 1967-2004

Health Institutions	Growth Rate
Ayurvedic Institutions	3.140
Unani and Homeopathic Institutions	0.156
Total Institutions	3.057
Patients Treated in Ayurvedic, Unani and Homeopathic Institutions	2.603
Vaidyas / Hakims / Homeopathic Doctors in Ayurvedic, Unani and Homeopathic Institutions	2.648
Dispenser / Compounders in Ayurvedic, Unani and Homeopathic Institutions	2.182

Source: The growth rate has been calculate on the basis of data from Statistical Abstract
        Haryana, issued by Economical and Statistical Adviser, Planning Department,
        Government of Haryana (various issues).

Fig. 2
1990-1991 to 2003-2004
Ratio of Expenditure on Education to Total Expenditure
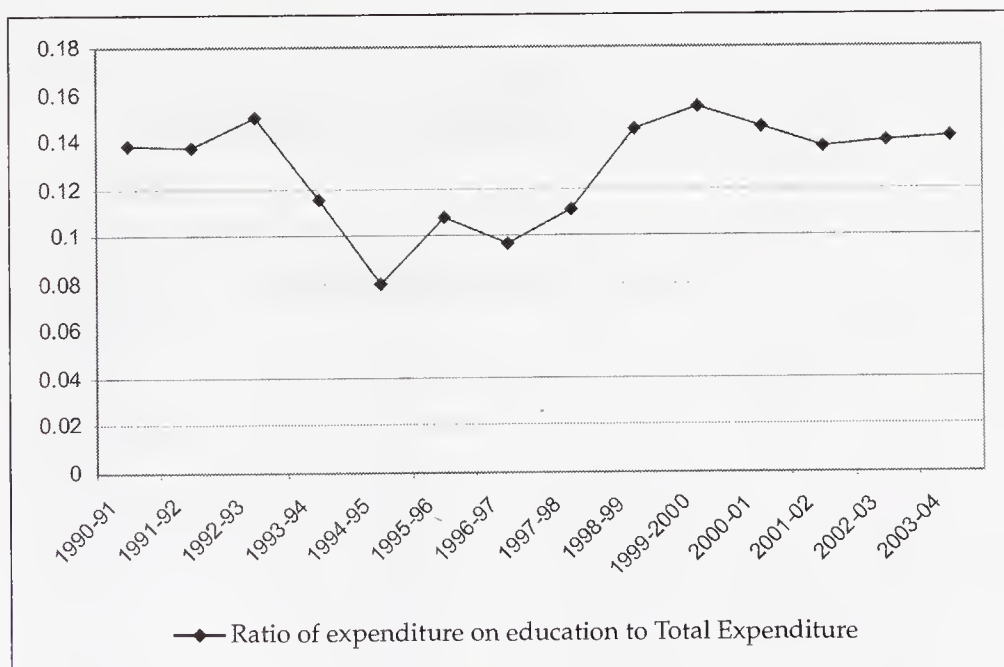
Source: As in Figure 1.

Fig. 3
Male Female Literacy Rates in Haryana: 1970-1971 to 2000-2001
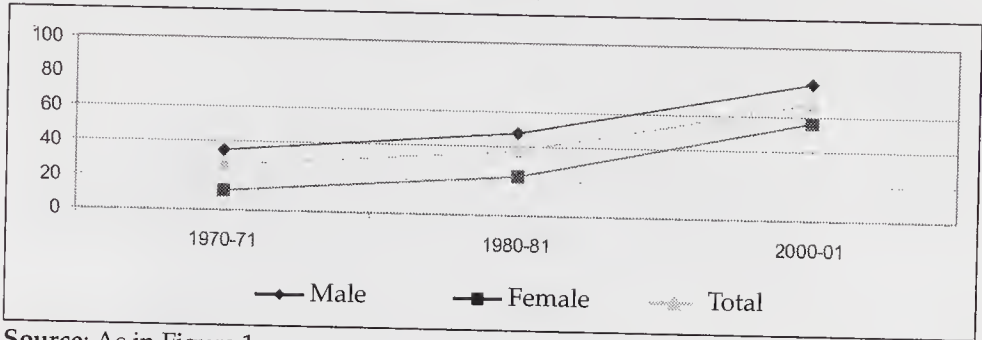
Source: As in Figure 1.

Fig. 4
Infant Mortality Rate in Haryana: 1960-1961 to 2001-2002
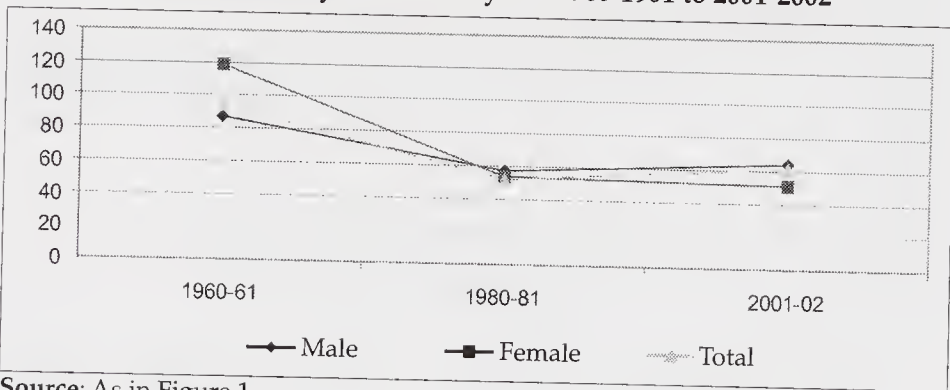
Source: As in Figure 1.

Fig. 5
Human Development Radar of India,
Haryana, Uttar Pradesh and Kerala

Source: As in Figure 1.

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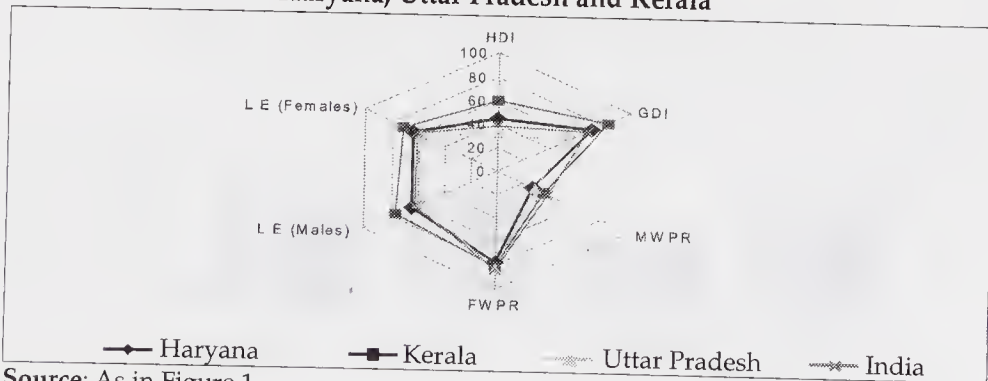
Fig. 6
Alarming Fall in Sex Ratio in Haryana: 1950-2000
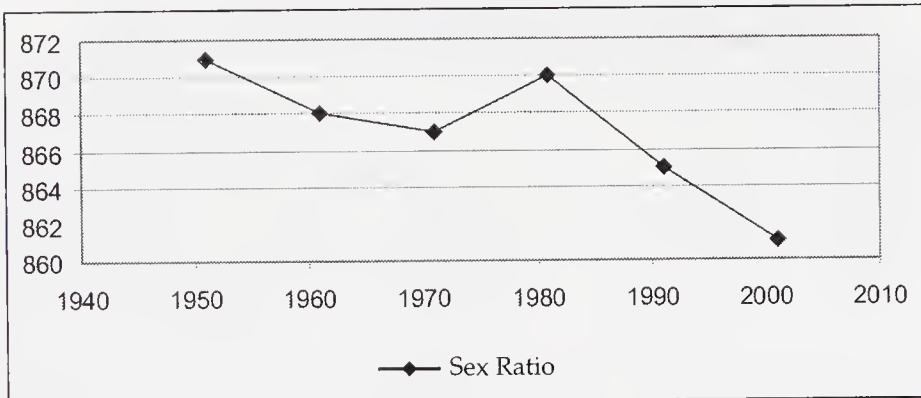
Fig. 7
Age Specific Sex Ratio in 2001
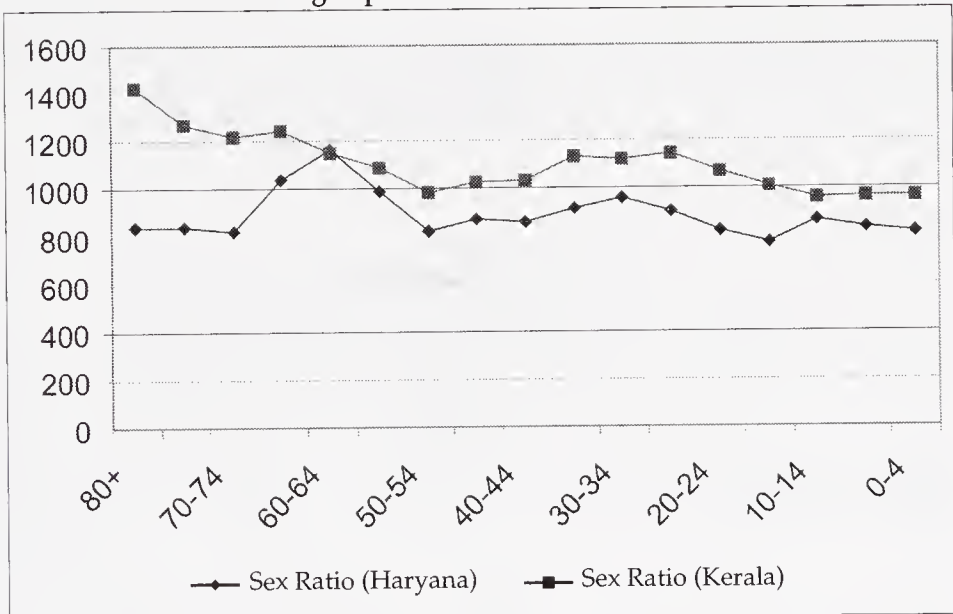
Fig. 8
Child- Women Ratio in India, Haryana, Kerala and Bihar

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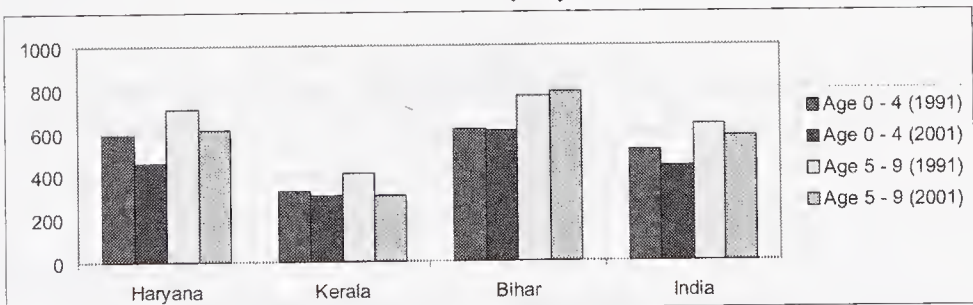
Fig. 9
Educational Expenditure in Haryana as Proportion
of Total Expenditure: 1990-1991 to 2002-2003
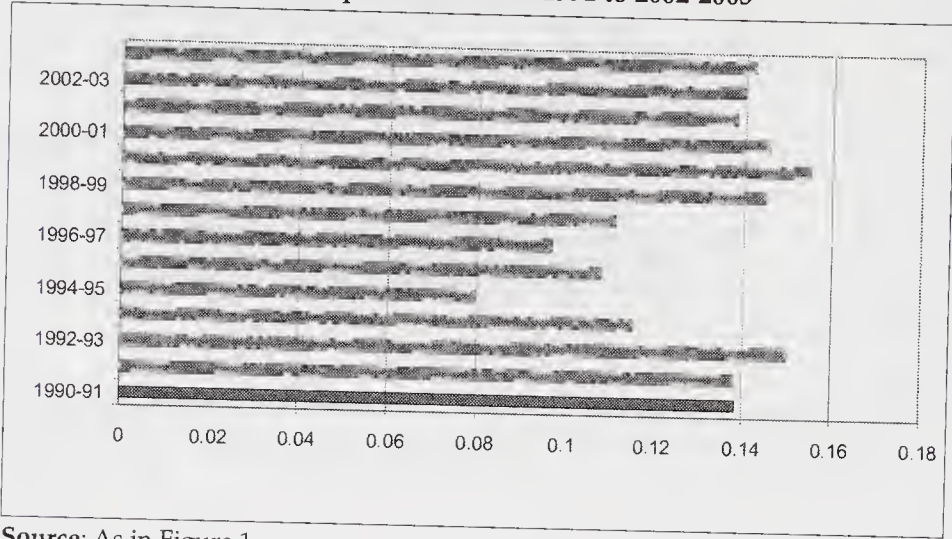
Source: As in Figure 1.

Fig. 10
Ratio of Education/Total Expenditure in Haryana:
1990-1991 to 2003-2004
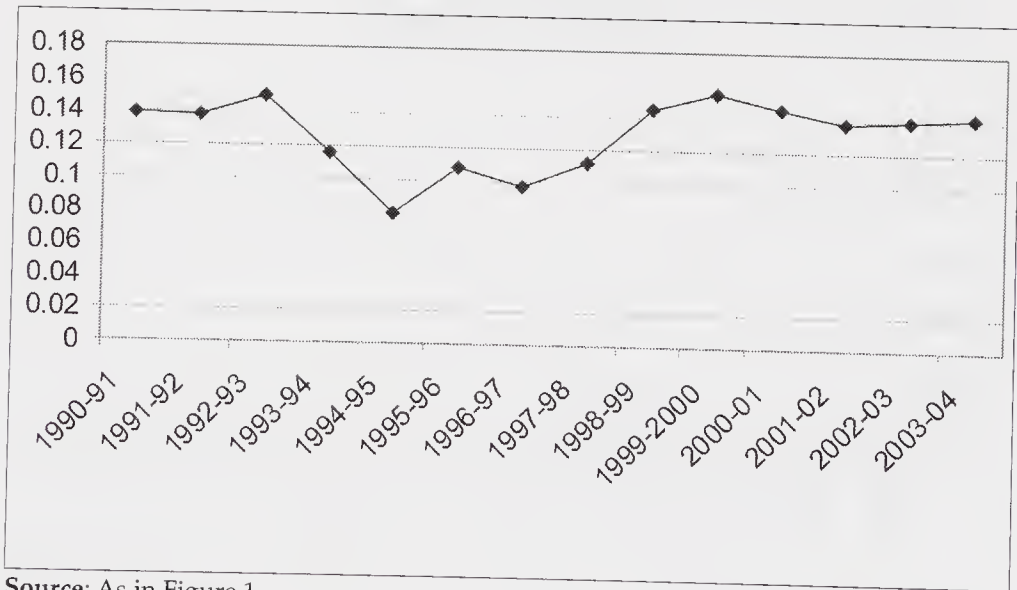
Source: As in Figure 1.

Fig. 11
Ratio of Health/ Total Expenditure in Haryana:
1990-1991 to 2003-2004
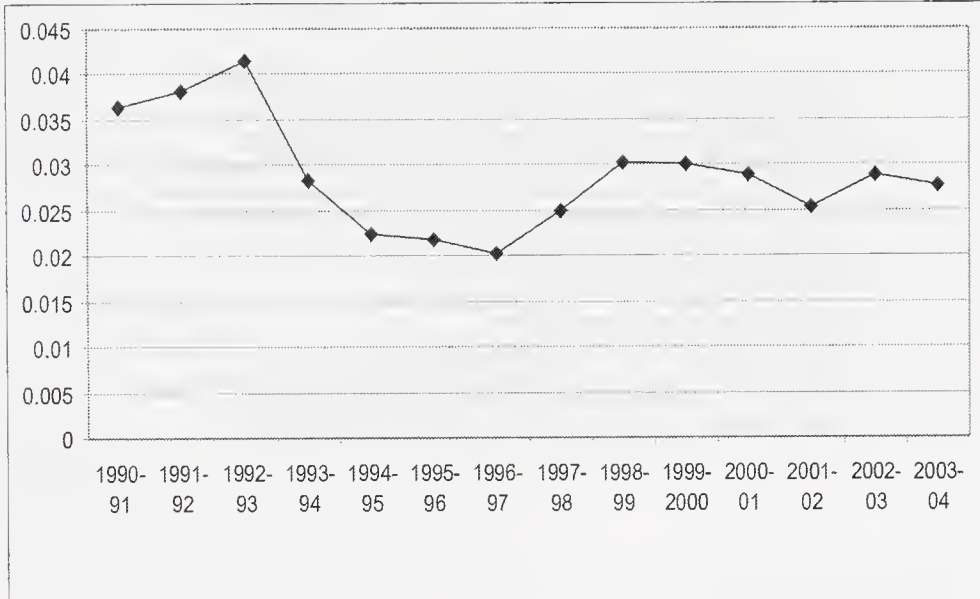
Fig. 12
Ratio of Health and Education/Total Expenditure in Haryana:
1990-1991 to 2003-2004
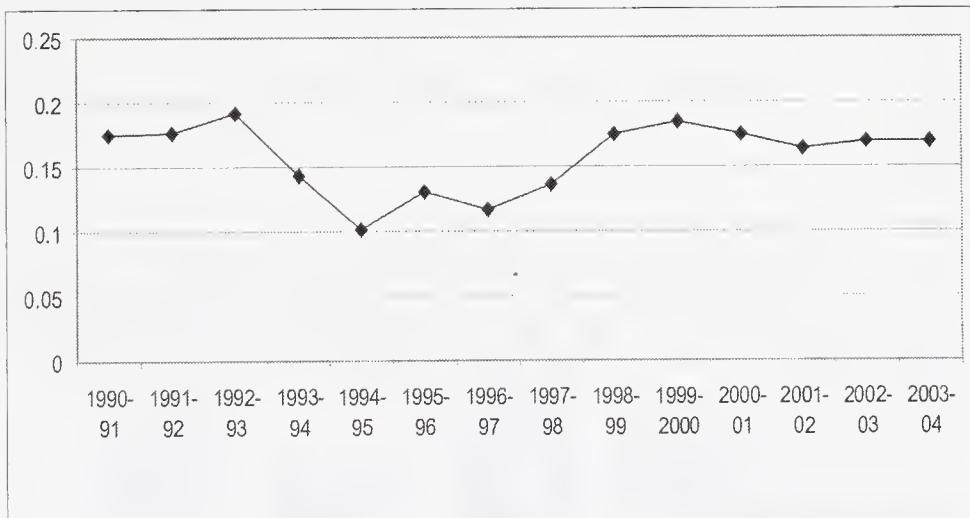
Fig. 13
Health and Education Expenditure as Proportion of Total
Expenditure in Haryana: 1990-1991 to 2002-2003
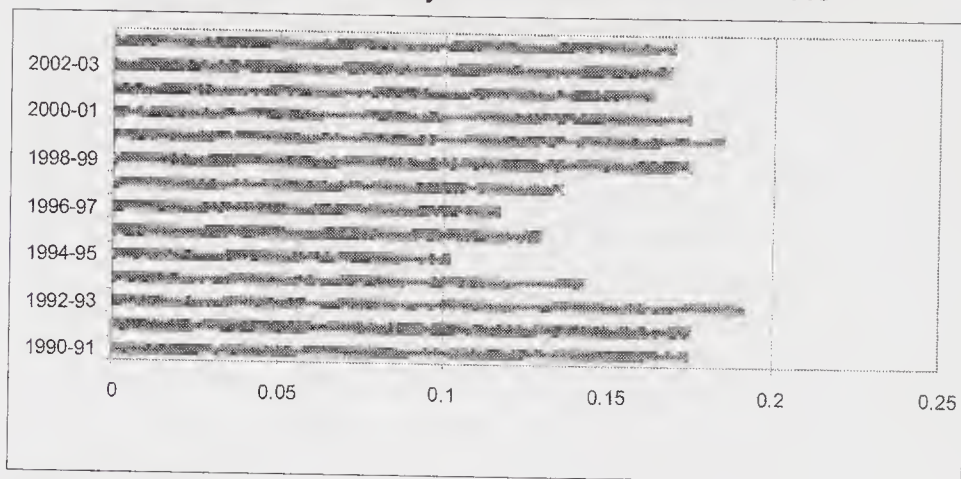
Source: As in Figure 1.

India-EU Industrial Collaboration

Match Making of Small and Medium Enterprises between the European Union and India in the Food Processing Sector

G S Padda

India has a grand food heritage, evolved under diverse geographical, agro-climatic, socio-cultural, politico-religious and techno-economic conditions over the centuries. In recent years, globalization of the economy, opening up of cultures, fast communications within the communities and across the continents are causing sweeping changes in food acceptability from regions. Popularization of pizza and burger by fast food giants in the country and Indian curries in European and other western countries are a few examples of cross-cultural spreads of food.

In UK alone, Indian food is a five billion dollar business and there are 6000 Indian restaurants. More than 80-90 per cent visitors to these restaurants are non-Indians. Indian food and recipes are catching up very fast all over Europe. Large retail stores are giving 20-25 per cent food- related shelf space to Indian food products like *Naan, Aloo Matar, Aloo Parantha*, Lamb Curry, Mutton Curry and *Biryani* in London, Berlin, Paris and Brussels. Basmati rice consumption is increasing six to seven per cent annually and is fast replacing pasta and spaghetti as the mainstream food. Indian snack foods like *Samosa* and *Namkeens* are fast becoming very popular. Along with rice and Basmati exporters, Indian food companies like ITC, Cremica Foods, Godrej, Haldiram, Parle, Allana Sons, Vadilal group, Global Green, Rasna and many others are fast spreading their wings in overseas markets.

World packaged food market is estimated at $ 680 billion. Though India's processed food exports exceed Rs.13.5 billion yet it is only a fraction of the international trade of $ 400 billion in food products. Indian food exports are growing at the rate of eight per cent per annum. With the establishment of WTO, global trade is further expanding rapidly and many global supermarket chains are seeking out Indian

food products for foreign markets. APEDA, MPEDA and Commodity Promotion Boards for Tea and Coffee are playing a major role in these endeavours. As per the projections, the world market for Indian food is likely to increase by 200 per cent in the next three to four years. Indian diaspora in foreign countries is estimated at 20 millions having a demand of $15 billion for Indian packaged foods.

With greater emphasis on sustainable agriculture through intensification, diversification and value addition, a kind of revolution is happening in the Indian food business that is growing at 20 per cent per annum for the last three to four years. Its present worth is estimated at Rs. 5,00,000 crore and 38 per cent of it is considered value added business of some kind or the other. Yet the overall value addition to our agro-commodities is hardly seven per cent, very low as compared to 23 per cent in China, 45 per cent in the Phillipines and 188 per cent in UK. This scenario spells out a great potential and challenge for the Indian value addition industry. Organized retailing in food business is hardly two per cent in India at present. It is expected to grow at the rate of 20 per cent per annum in coming years through supermarket or chain store concepts.

On the other hand, European countries along with other advanced nations have heavily subsidized agricultural economies and are under pressure from the developing countries to reduce these for an equitable level playing field for globalized business under WTO. Their high wage structures and infrastructural costs are affecting small and medium scale businesses in textiles, knitwears and even food sector operations. India has the advantage of historical ties with some European concerns in food business like Britannia, Cadbury, Nestle, Glaxo Smith-Kline. The adjustment problems for European and Indian food companies under the new economic order of globalization can bring in great opportunities for mutual tie-ups with economic benefits. For an effective and efficient match making between small and medium enterprises of Europe and India, we will have to understand several critical factors such as legal definitions, infrastructure support, production of suitable raw materials, post-harvest management and processing for value addition, equipment and machinery, food safety and quality assurance requirements, food laws and their implementation, financial and managemental issues, human resources, marketing and trade related implications.

The small sector in India is responsible for 40 per cent of its industrial production, 35 per cent of the country's exports, employs 167 lakh persons in 30 lakh SSI units, that constitutes 70-80 per cent of the

industrial workforce. The sector acts as a 'nursery' for the development of entrepreneurial talent. It deals with around 7,500 products and the sector has been traditionally protected in India with exclusive product reservations, fiscal and other incentives. It has been considered a storehouse of inexpensive goods and services. Employment generation in labour-intensive units has been the major objective in SSIs. Though it has been considered vulnerable to cheap import competition from overseas markets, especially after globalization, yet the sector did pretty well in exports in the 15 years of liberalized exports (1985-1997). Now mechanization and automation is helping improve productivity and lower costs. It has been observed that non-scale factors such as reduction in wastages, inventory management, organizational changes, energy auditing, targeted training of workers, quality awareness, communications, enabling environment and facilities are more important for improvements and efficiency for competitiveness of SSIs. Not size but institutional isolation is the problem and fostering linkages through clusteral approach (networking) is proving successful.

There is a difference between India and European countries in that we do not club medium enterprises with small scale sector and our definition for small scale sector is based on investment upto one crore rupees in fixed assets such as plant and machinery (exclusive of land and building). The Indian small sector includes tiny (up to Rs. 25 lakh) and some high-tech and export-oriented industries having investment upto five crore rupees. Our medium scale units are generally clubbed with large industries. In Europe small and medium enterprises (SME) are clubbed together and mostly defined, based on the number of employees and one of the two financial criteria, i.e., either the turnover total or the balance sheet total (Table 1). So a reconciliation of these legal definitions will be the first step for any match making.

Table 1
Newly Adopted EU Definition of SMEs

Criteria	Micro enterprises	Small-sized Enterprises	Medium-sized Enterprises
Max. Number of employees	< 10	< 50	< 250
Max. turnover in million Euro-Dollars	-	7	40
Max. balance sheet Total in million Euro-Dollars	-	5	27

Source: *Census of India, 2001*

Fast movement and safe handling of raw materials, finished products and human resources for successful trade and business require excellent infrastructural support, including communications. Well-metalled roads, even in rural areas, to transport perishables and non-perishable commodities to markets and processing plants are essential. Transportation facilities by road, railways, sea and air need heavy investments for successful business, including investments in communications, market infrastructure, banking, hotels, etc. European countries have well-laid out norms for cold chains and other transport infrastructure, including business at wholesale and retail outlet markets.

Indian agriculture is at the crossroads due to fatigue in the technology that ushered in the Green Revolution. Lowering of the water-table due to predominant wheat-paddy rotation; deterioration of soil health due to over-exploitation, and excessive use of fertilizers and insecticides; environmental degradation; lack of quality seeds and planting materials that can produce raw materials suitable for processing; are some of the major issues of concern in the production sector. Supply-based agriculture must shift to demand-based farming with emphasis on sustainability, diversification and contract farming to provide the benefits of scale to production economies through cluster approaches in agriculture. Agri Export Zones, Command Area Approaches around processing units; Disease Free Zones around abattoirs; Self Help Groups; Agri Clinics; Farmers Service Centres; Agribusiness Centres; Integrated Markets; Warehouse Receipts; Commodity Exchanges; ITC E-Chapals; Transit Storage and Distribution Centres; Grading and Packaging Houses; Value Addition Centres; Export Oriented Units; Food Parks; Rural Agro-Industrial Complexes; Private Sector Linkages, are some of the newer concepts being promoted in India to encourage quality food processing. The country certainly has great merit as far as the quality of our fresh fruits and vegetables is concerned. We must identify our food commodities and processed products, where India has a special marketing edge in European countries.

Organically grown foods and manufactured foods are becoming very popular. The world market is estimated at $ 26 billion, whereas our exports at present are hardly worth Rs. 75-100 crore. There is bright scope for exporting organic tea, coffee, spices, oleoresins, Basmati rice, mangoes, bananas, pineapples and grapes to Europeans countries. Adherence to Eurogap guidelines and proper certification

from European agencies for organic foods will be important criteria for boosting the exports.

European Union consumers are very sensitive to genetically modified foods or products produced from genetically modified organisms. So the country will have to take these into consideration for tie-ups.

There have been great many advances in post-harvest management practices and techniques of food processing in European countries. Indian food companies will gain a lot from strong tie-ups, in the form of advanced technologies, equipment and machinery to make our operations up to world standard. We need to expand our base for equipment manufacture for food processing, as, at present, the largest costs of industrial units are on machinery imports for the units. Advanced technologies such as retort pouch processing, high pressure technology, ohmic heating, etc., are not available in India, or the quality is not very good. The country suffers estimated losses worth Rs. 77,000 crore annually on account of poor post-harvest management and lower value addition.

European Union countries are very particular about food quality and safety norms for their consumers. We in India are well aware of the recent controversy on soft drinks with higher residues of pesticide in Pepsi and Coca Cola. The European Union controls these pesticides at much lower levels of 'ppb', while in our country the national laws often control these at 'ppm' levels. You need much more sophisticated facilities to analyse residues at those minute levels and costs of estimation go up.

The European Food Safety Authority (EFSA) based in Parma (Italy) is the keystone of EU risk-assessment regarding food and feed safety. So, for doing business with the European nations one has to understand these rules and regulations and establish facilities accordingly. 'Nutritional labelling' and 'health claims' such as 'low fat', 'reduced' calories and 'high fibre' have to be substantiated for claims in Europe. From 2005 onward, detailed listing of 'allergens' is essential on labels so that the consumers are well protected against possible risks. I have already talked about 'genetically modified foods' concerns and proper certification for 'organic foods' claims. Similar rules on microbial contaminations and health risks, chemical safety, composition, marketing standards, weights and measures are important. Rules on GAP, GMP, GHP, SPS, HACCP have to be complied with meticulously to do business with Europe.

Indian food business has so far been controlled by a number of laws and agencies at the national and state levels. Now we are moving towards an Integrated Food Law under a single National Authority agency to give much needed relief and impetus to the growth of the food sector in the country. Close tie-ups with the European food industries and the law enforcing agencies will go a long way to standardize and simplify trade procedures for faster growth of trade between India and Europe.

Funds are a major constraint in the development of small and medium scale enterprises in India. In East Asian Countries, SME lending policy is tied to performance standards. In many industrial countries governments as well as trade associations have historically intervened in credit markets to assist SMEs specifically, by taking on the role of guarantors of loans that financial institutions extend, i.e., no subsidized credit. Default rates vary from a low of five per cent in Germany to 40 per cent in the UK (Riding and Haines 2001). In the Indian case the official default rate is said to be 35-40 per cent. A match making between Indian and Europeans food industries may help Indian small and medium enterprises to have more liberal access to funding and credit along with newer, better innovations in financial management for the units. Governments and financial institutions in Europe may also be likely to support such joint ventures to meet the much needed financial requirements for equipment and machinery. Working capital for SME units is considered sometimes more important in India than investment capital and easy access to capital will be highly desirable, through tie-up arrangements with European enterprises. The investment needs of the Indian food industry have been estimated at Rs. 1,50,000 crore to enhance value addition to 35 per cent over the next 10 years.

The United Nations Millenium Development Goals emphasize a paradigm shift from an unskilled to a skilled workforce. M S Swaminathan observes that we need to shift one-third of our rural labour from unskilled 'on-farm' to skilled 'non-farm' jobs to prevent urban slums. Indian workforce at the floor levels and at supervisory levels need several job-specific training capsules to assure safe and hygienic food products that meet European and international quality standards. This is a gigantic mission that needs large financial resources and technical inputs. Tie-ups with European food industries will go a long way to address the training and educational needs of small and medium scale enterprises in the country.

Already Europe-based food industries in India have tied up with their Indian counterparts like Cadbury with Cremica Foods for

filled chocolates; Nestle with Nizzer Foods for tomato and dairy products and Glaxo Smith-Kline with Jagatjit Industries for health foods and Milk Foods for milk. As the production costs of small and medium food enterprises in Europe are increasing, these can profitably tie up with Indian units for the manufacture of their niche brands for European markets. European Units can tie up for European products or indigenous products using sophisticated processing technologies and marketing tools. India has a population of 250 million strong middle class to purchase value added convenience food products. CII-McKinsey FAIDA Report, 1995 projected the worth of the processed food industry was estimated at Rs. 2,25,000 crore by the year 2005. An effective match making between European and Indian food enterprises will be mutually profitable for agriculture, business and consumers of the stakeholders. Small and medium enterprises in post-harvest management, food processing, marketing and exports, including retailing, have a very bright future awaiting exploitation. The enterprises may follow any of the traditional or modern instruments for tie-ups like:

- **Franchising**: Where one enterprise (franchiser) gives the rights to produce or sell a particular product to the other (franchisee). The franchiser holds the trade mark and lays down the standards and procedures. The franchisee has ready product and know-how, learns a lot about quality production, and credit is easily available for established brands. Vulnerability to price fluctuations is the only risk for the franchisee.

- **Brokerage**: The instrument is akin to the old role played by the 'Factor' to identify the regional or national demand and brokering the linkages between the source demand and small manufacturers. Factors generally procured inputs in bulk and distributed to small manufacturers, who produced goods according to specifications provided by the factors.

- **Sub-contracting**: It is a widely accepted SME instrument with vertical or horizontal linkages. Large firms may invest heavily to develop small sub-contractors as world-class manufacturers, as in Japan for automobiles. Legislation on timely payments to sub-contractors with 15 days of delivery is assured.

- **Cluster Collaborative Production Network**: It provides linkages between firms of various sizes, specialized services providers, workers, local institutions such as business associations, training institutions, R & D networks and agencies of the state including financial institutions. In a cluster, a group of firms work together

for economy in scale of operation. This approach has been successfully adopted in Ludhiana Knitwear and Hosiery Industries with the help of UNIDO.

Another important issue of marketing in European countries is to understand the latest consumer trends and food habits in export markets and introduce innovative food products to meet those requirements. New products like convenience and fast foods, fitness promoting, functional foods, organically manufactured recipes, ready-to-eat and frozen products are becoming very popular. Small sized portions of simple snacks that are easy to digest, light in weight, with easy transportation and visual appeal are in demand under convenience fast foods. Tablets containing concentrated Aloevera, blossom honey spread with pollens, low fat, low calorie fruit bars are the trends in health foods. Fancies like eating with hands are promoting spare ribs, chicken wings and tortillas. Coriander and cream of coconut are becoming popular with chefs in Central Europe. Chocolates and ice-cream with sheep milk are in demand. The French like new recipes and love to experiment with new foods, whereas the Germans are more tradition bound and the British want more convenience.

Globalization of trade under WTO is bringing in rapid and significant expansion of demand in fresh and processed foods due to advances in education and awareness of consumers, internationalization of food tastes and habits, developments in food science and technology, improvements in transportation and cold chain linkages. Reduction of heavy subsidies on agriculture by the industrialized nations will make Indian agriculture and processed foods very competitive in world markets. India is being looked at as a global sourcing base and has the potential to become 'The Food Factory of the World'. A large population of Indians settled abroad are our ambassadors to promote our rich heritage of Indian foods across cultures. The country has been well known as the house of flavourful natural spices and aromatic health-promoting foods. European food companies at small and medium enterprise levels are facing economic constraints due to high labour costs and shrinking markets, but have technology and well-established products in the traditional markets. Indian food industries, on the other hand, lack proper financial resources, well-trained human resources, advanced technologies and equipment, quality assurance and food safety systems, well-established domestic and export markets, including 'product brands'. There are tremendous possibilities for mutual economic profitability through effective match making.

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Government Policy and Technology for Agricultural Growth

G S Kalkat

For sustainable growth in agriculture, government policies on funding research and extension activities, remunerative output prices and assured marketing are essential. To bring about any change in the cropping pattern, which is viable, suitable technology must be available. The state at present is faced with many problems relating to agriculture. But the major ones needing immediate action are:

- How to conserve natural resources (water, soil and environment) and

- How to improve the income of small farmers.

These are complex questions and to find a suitable answer, a brief analysis of the background and the current situation is necessary.

The State of Punjab occupies an extremely important position in Indian agriculture. India's transition from a food importing country to not only self-sufficiency in foodgrains but to a food exporter has been spearheaded by Punjab. There were forecasts of starvation in India in the 1970s, which have since been falsified.

The accelerated growth in foodgrain production in the late 1960s which continued in the 1970s and 1980s, was the result of simultaneous implementation of government policies with regard to funding of research to develop new technologies suited to local farm conditions, strengthening of extension to demonstrate and pass on the technology to the farmers, providing short- and medium-term credit to the farmers to buy inputs and develop irrigation facilities; land development, etc.; development of rural infrastructure of roads, marketing, rural electrification; and assured output prices. Consolidation of holdings in the 1950s and early 1960s played an

important role in the speedy development of groundwater by individual farmers. Green Revolution technology was based on seeds of new high yielding varieties of wheat and rice, assured and timely irrigation water supplies and marketing of the output at reasonably remunerative prices. The Agricultural Prices Commission (now called Commission for Agricultural Costs and Prices (CACP) and the Food Corporation of India were set up in the mid-1960s to ensure remunerative prices and timely procurement. In this respect, the role of the Food Corporation of India and the Punjab state marketing agencies like MARKFED, PUNSUP, Agro-Industries Corporation, Punjab Mandi Board and Warehousing Corporation is highly commendable. I firmly believe that in spite of the high yielding production technology, the farmers would not have invested heavily in land development, irrigation, mechanization and the use of expensive inputs, if they had not been assured of adequate support prices and if the technology advocated did not insulate crops against failure caused by pests and diseases. It is worth recording that in any future programme of alternative crop promotion, viable technology and assured output prices would be prerequisites.

The Green Revolution brought about a remarkable growth in foodgrain production. Based on new technology, the rapid growth started in the 1960s is depicted in the following tables:

Table 1
Production of Wheat and Rice in Punjab (lakh tonnes)

Crop	1960-61	1970-71	1990-91	2004-05
Wheat	17.4	51.5	121.6	149.0
Rice	2.3	6.7	65.1	104.4
Total food grains	31.6	73.1	192.2	258.9

Source: i)*Agriculture in Punjab 2004-05*, Department of Agriculture Punjab, Chandigarh.
ii) *Agricutural Statistics at a Glance*, Government of India, New Delhi

Table 2
Area of Wheat and Rice in Punjab (lakh hectares)

Crop	1960-61	1970-71	1990-91	2004-05
Wheat	14.0	23.0	32.7	34.0
Rice	2.3	3.9	20.2	26.5
Total food grains	30.6	39.3	56.7	62.8

Source: As in Table 1.

Table 3
Production of Wheat and Rice in India (lakh tonnes)

Crop	1960-61	1970-71	1990-91	2001-02	2004-05
Wheat	110.0	238.3	551.4	727.7	651.0
Rice	345.8	422.2	742.9	933.4	726.5
Total food grains	820.2	1084.2	1763.9	2128.5	1741.9

Source: As in Table 1

The state became surplus in foodgrains and supplied 24 lakh tonnes of wheat and six lakh tonnes of rice to the Central pool during 1970-71. During the same year the total wheat and rice procured in the country for public distribution was 32 lakh tonnes of wheat and the same quantity of rice. During 2004-05 the contribution of Punjab to the central pool of foodgrains was 100 lakh tonnes of wheat and 79.4 lakh tonnes of rice, whereas the total procurement in India was 190.0 lakh tonnes of wheat and 164.0 lakh tonnes of rice.

The Green Revolution has been possible because of heavy investment by the farmers and state government policies. The irrigated area, which in 1960-61 was about 54 per cent, has risen to 96 per cent of which about three-fourth are by tubewells which are an assured source of irrigation. The cropping intensity rose from about 126 per cent in 1960-61 to about 188 per cent in 2003-04. The net cultivated area as a percentage of the geographical area rose to 85 per cent. The number of tractors which were only 4200 in 1950-51 increased to about 4.07 lakh and the number of tubewells increased from 45,000 to over 11.68 lakh during this period. The input consumption also increased manifold.

The Green Revolution in Punjab was confined to and focused only on wheat and rice. The production technology worked very well until the early eighties but subsequently further growth in agriculture slowed down. As a result, farm economy came under severe stress. The rice and wheat technology caused heavy drain on the state's resources of water and soil. The initial prosperity that the farmers achieved started diminishing leading to a situation of crisis, where conserving soil and water and the environment has become a serious concern.

With the stagnation in productivity and income levels of farmers, the current production technology based on monoculture of wheat and paddy rotation year after year in the same fields has become economically unsustainable and ecologically unviable. It has led to over-exploitation of groundwater resources as wheat and rice cover about 76 per cent of the total cropped area in the state. During 1960-61,

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paddy was sown in relatively small pockets of the state which were water logged mainly alongside the rivers covering about 2.3 lakh hectares. Wheat was cultivated in an area of about 14 lakh hectares in the same year. The introduction of new high yielding varieties of wheat and rice provided an excellent rotational fit to successfully grow two crops in one year in the same field, i.e., wheat followed by paddy. By the year 2004-05, the area under paddy jumped to about 26.5 lakh hectares and that under wheat to more than 34 lakh hectares. The demand for water for irrigation has risen causing a serious imbalance in the availability and actual consumption of irrigation supplies. The deficit is met by over-exploiting the groundwater resources through tubewell pumping. The results are obvious. The water table has fallen drastically. The farmers had to deepen the wells and place centrifugal pumps at deeper levels. Electricity consumption per acre for irrigating wheat or paddy has appreciably increased. Consumption of electric power during the kharif season (May to September) has increased appreciably and, to meet the demand, power had to be diverted from other sectors of the economy and also through purchase of additional power from other grids.

The state has three distinct regions, foothills, central districts (with sweet underground water) and south-western districts (largely with saline sub-soil water). Cotton is grown in the south-western districts with canal irrigation. Most of the paddy is grown in the central region with tubewell irrigation. Of the total irrigated area in the state, 70 per cent is through pumping underground water. The water table in the central districts of the state, having 70 per cent of tubewells is receding at an alarming rate of two to 2.5 feet annually. At present, about 30 per cent of the tubewells have become submersible and it is estimated that if the current cropping pattern continues, in the next 10 years practically all centrifugal pumps will become non-functional and will need to be converted into submersible pumps requiring much more power to draw the water to irrigate the same area. A large number of farmers (almost 50%) are having 3-5 HP motors installed at their farms and in most cases their land is at two locations. It will be impossible for them to afford two deep tubewells. Not to talk of rice, the farmers will find it difficult even to grow green fodder for their milch animals in such situations. Before the advent of tubewell irrigation in the mid-1960's, these farmers had percolation wells installed with Persian wheels for small-scale irrigation. In the developing scenario, they will not even have the facility of wells.

The wheat-rice rotation over a long period on the same fields has caused deterioration in soil health and imbalances in soil nutrients have developed. The soil has become deficient in a number of micro-elements like zinc, sulphur and iron. To exploit the high yield potential of the new varieties of crops, the farmers have to apply these micro-nutrients at a heavy additional cost. New weeds have developed requiring application of much more expensive weedicides. The continuous cultivation of paddy in standing water after puddling, results in the production and release of methane gas which is reported to be one of the factors causing global warming. Burning of surplus straw of wheat and rice causes environmental pollution.

There is very heavy capital investment in Punjab. With 2.5 per cent of the total area of the country, the state has about 25 per cent of the total tractor population of the country. About 4.1 lakh tractors cultivating about 42 lakh hectares of land (about 10 lakh holdings) is a cause of concern. One of the major indicators of the rural crisis in the 1990s is the emergence of a second-hand tractor market where farmers sell their tractors, many a times recently purchased ones, to meet other family needs. The small farms do not provide enough income to repay the loans and in many cases, the farmer has to sell or mortgage a part of his holding to repay the loan.

The huge build-up of food stocks during 2002 and the government losing substantially on the export of grains resulted in an economic squeeze on the farmers' income, resulting from freezing of procurement prices of wheat and paddy. This has happened in spite of the fact that the cost of production of these crops is ever increasing. Thus, the farmers are facing a double squeeze on their incomes. As reported earlier, to obtain the same level of productivity, the farmers have to use higher quantities of inputs because of nutrient deficiencies. The farm economy of marginal and small farmers has deteriorated. Farm holdings are getting subdivided. With every generational growth, the number of small farmers is increasing. Unfortunately, off-farm employment opportunities have not increased in proportion to the increase in the number of small farmers. Consequently, the pressure on land is very high and is increasing.

The average per capita income of the state was Rs. 27, 851 in 2002-03 (Economic and Statistical Organization, Punjab). Under Punjab conditions, where currently 95 per cent of the cropped land is irrigated, income from a two-hectare farm growing rice and wheat crops as

assessed by the Punjab Agricultural University, Ludhaina, excluding input costs and hired labour, is about 45 per cent of the average per capita income of the state. About 4.5 hectares are required to match the state level average per capita income. Thus, about 75 per cent of the farmers of Punjab are below the average per capita income of the state, based on current levels of productivity and input-output prices of wheat and rice, crops that cover about 76 per cent of the total cropped area of the state (PAU 1998).

The Road Ahead

- There are no simple answers to meet the agrarian crisis in Punjab. The twin problems of conserving water and soil and improving the small farmers' economy need coordinated efforts of different stakeholders. The solution suggested is diversification of crops, preferably from the cultivation of high-volume low-value crops to high-value low-volume crops. To comprehend the problem it is necessary to understand the extent of diversification.

- Over exploitation of groundwater is mainly because of the extensive area under paddy cultivation. Water balance studies conducted by Punjab Agriculture University, Ludhiana, have indicated that Punjab can support about 16-18 lakh hectares under rice. Unless an area of 10 lakh hectares, out of 26.5 lakh hectares currently grown, is 'retired' from production or put under other crops, the water balance in the state cannot be restored. These studies were conducted in 1991 and updated in 1993. The total water requirement for raising the crops in 1993 was estimated at 39.7 million acre feet (MAF) based on normative water use by these crops. Against this requirement, the available water was estimated to be 25.3 MAF excluding unfit and marginally fit groundwater (Parihar, S S et.al, 1993). Since 1993, the area under rice has increased by about 2.5 lakh hectares and the imbalance must have further increased. The water availability was estimated on the basis of total water available at all canal outlets, groundwater based on rainfall infiltration, seepage from canals, return flow from surface irrigation, seepage from rivers, *choes* (rainy torrents), and flood plains. Consumption of water by paddy is very high. An appreciable area of paddy is transplanted in early May, about one month earlier than recommended by agronomy experts. This results in very high evaporation/transpiration. The average requirement of water by timely sowing of paddy during *kharif*, based on evapo-

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transpiration is estimated at about 730 mm compared to 839 mm of water required for the crop transplanted in the first week of May. Other *kharif* crops, namely *moong* and maize, require about 415 and 460 mm of water. The requirement of sugarcane is about 1600 mm, much more than the combined need of rice and wheat (Johl Committee 2002).

- Diversification is aimed at increasing the variety of farm products with a view to bringing a shift from the prevailing crop production patterns. Commercially, the decision of a farmer to go in for a particular crop or farm enterprise or a combination thereof is primarily based on the relative profitability of different enterprises, which in turn depends upon price, productivity levels, facilities for marketing and output prices. The cropping pattern prevailing at a time is a reflection of the farmers' decision as dictated by the availability of technology, the market situation, availability of inputs and access to production resources. Pressing family needs for finance dictate the farmers to continue a cropping system which is secure and has an assured market, even though he may be told or be aware of the problems which he or his descendents will face if the current cropping system is not changed. Comparative higher assured income from rice because of higher yields of paddy, secure from losses caused by pests and diseases and assured procurement by the government at MSP are tempting the farmers to continue its cultivation. Therefore, similar conditions have to be created to attract him to other crops which need less water. Or in the alternative, he may be advised to 'retire' a part of the area under rice and he may be compensated by the government. This practice is followed in a number of countries. In addition to the large number of recommendations, Johl Committee (2002) suggested 'retiring' 25 lakh acres from rice cultivation in the state.

- Food security is essential to the country. Diversification of part of the area under rice to other crops will affect the state's contribution to the central pool of foodgrains. To compensate for this and also for an overall increase in the farmers' income, rice research should be strengthened to produce high yielding, short duration (about 120 days) hybrids. Such hybrids can be transplanted towards the third week of June for maturity in the last week of September or in early October. This will also reduce the water needs significantly.

Diversification options are limited and require a very secure market, demand intensive research for improving productivity and profitability, investment in the market infrastructure and a clearly stated policy to ensure remunerative prices. Generally, high value crops are advocated to replace high yielding crops of wheat and rice. At present (2005), the area under fruits is 44,000 hectares with the maximum area under *kinnow* mainly in Ferozepur and Hoshiarpur districts. In the last five to six years, due to the efforts of Punjab Agro-Industries Corporation (PAIC) this fruit has found a remunerative domestic market and the farmers are getting fair returns ranging from Rs. 60,000 to Rs. 1,00,000 per acre per annum. More area (about 25,000 hectares) could be planted under fruit crops mainly under *kinnow* in the next five to six years. Soft pear and guava are the other two promising fruits for cultivation in the state. About 2000 hectares could be planned during the next five to six years. The PAIC is propagating sweat orange cultivation. They have taken up a bold research and development programme. They had plantations during November-December 2003. The performance of these plantations will be known after about three years. Based on these results, a large-scale plantation programme can be taken up.

Vegetables at present cover about 1.5 lakh hectares and can be grown by the small and marginal farmers all the year round and in all parts of the state. This is labour-intensive enterprise and four crops can be grown in a year giving better cash flow to the growers. The existing marketing system for these products is primitive and dominated by middlemen, resulting in imperfections, inefficiencies and high post-harvest losses. The producers do not get a fair share in the consumer rupee. Prices go down in post-harvest glut conditions due to the short shelf life and marketability period of the products. The development of processing industries can solve many of these problems and another 20,000 hectares can be put under vegetables. Organic vegetables/fruits can also be produced for the domestic as well as the international market, provided quality standards are maintained. There is great scope for the export of these food items in the world market.

Investments in facilities like pre-cooling, grading, packaging, quick-freezing, cold storage and refrigerated transport (by road, rail and air) are necessary. One set of such facilities should be created by MARKFED, Punjab Mandi Board or Punjab Agro-Industries Corporation to demonstrate economic benefits both to the farmers and investors. Thereafter, private enterprise should be encouraged to take this enterprise on a larger scale. If implemented, it will encourage large-

scale cultivation of vegetables by small farmers to improve their economy.

Other options would be crops having high yield potentials but these have to be given assured market support in terms of the development of a market infrastructure and procurement at remunerative prices. *Kharif* crops which can replace rice are maize, groundnut, soyabean, pulses, fodder, farm forestry, etc. With the current technology, a possible option would be to encourage cultivation of pulses and edible oil crops. Cultivation of summer *moong*, after the harvest of wheat, sugarcane, potato, followed by sowing of soyabean in the same field, needs to be demonstrated to the farmers for adoption on a large scale. There is a shortage of pulses and edible oil seeds and these are annually imported to the extent of about Rs. 14,000 crore annually (Government of India, 2004). Therefore, there should be no problem of marketing the produce of *moong* and soyabean. The Government of India fixes a minimum support price for these crops, which must be ensured to the producers. There is no reason for not fulfilling the commitment of MSP, particularly when these commodities are imported at a high cost every year.

The new soyabean variety is resistant to viruses and can be safely grown in Punjab. An average yield of seven to eight quintals can be assured. Water requirements, fertilizer needs and hired labour requirements are less for *moong* and soyabean than paddy. There will be an appreciable saving of electricity also. Compared to about 20 irrigations for paddy, *moong* and soyabean combined will need about six to seven irrigations. The programme can be extended to cover five to six lakh acres in just four crop seasons, during which period enough quantities of seed may be multiplied. However, the programme will succeed only if marketing/processing facilities are ensured.

Agro-forestry will also play an important role, particularly in the 'bet' (areas adjacent to the rivers) and foothills. There is a serious shortage of wood, paper, newsprint and wood based products in the country and large quantities are imported every year at a very high cost. The Singhania Committee set up by the Government of India has estimated that by 2010 India's requirement of paper will need annual imports worth about Rs. 12,000-15,000 crore. Punjab has a comparative advantage in timber and biomass production. High yielding, disease resistant clones of eucalyptus and poplar are available. However, planned and integrated development of farm forestry and wood-based industries and a positive policy framework for large-scale investments

are prerequisites for exploiting this potential. The potential and needs are large. Currently the forest cover in Punjab is about eight per cent against the recommended norm of 33 per cent. Coordinated efforts should be made to produce quality planting material, planting technologies and development of wood industry.

Do small farmers have any option? Are the options within farming or do they have the option to quit farming and can they get off-farm employment to supplement their farm incomes?

Punjab is a land of small farmers and about two-thirds of the population depend on agriculture. Out of about 10 lakh operational holdings, about 63 per cent are smaller than four hectares which cover about 30 per cent of the total cultivated area of the state. Although, per hectare productivity has increased since the early 1970s, the per farm family income has decreased due to sub-division of land holdings and the rising cost of cultivation. The farmers do not have any cushion to face economic hardship. If their surplus produce is not procured at the minimum support price (MSP) their income will decrease drastically leading to serious difficulties. The tables below show the holding sizes and MSP for wheat and rice.

Table 4
Operational Land Holdings (% Farmers)

Size/Category	1970-71	1990-91	1995-96	2000-01
Upto 1 hectare	37.63	26.80	18.65	12.34
1-2 hectare	18.91	18.25	16.78	17.35
2-4 hectare	20.44	25.85	29.31	32.90
4-10 hetare	18.02	23.41	27.98	30.19
> 10 hectare	5.00	6.01	7.28	7.22

Source: Various government publications

Table 5
Minimum Support Price (Rs./Quintal)

Crop	1990-91	1999-00	2000-01	2004-05	2005-06
Wheat	215	580	610	640	640
Paddy (coarse)	205	490	510	560	570

Source: Various government publications

Dairy farming is a sound alternative to the rice-wheat system and offers income and employment generation opportunities in the rural areas. There is need to help the existing dairy farmers as well as to

introduce and encourage new farmers to start dairy farming. These farmers should be selected from a cluster of 30-40 villages falling within the hinterland area of milk plants. A selective approach is necessary to ensure that technical advice about management and veterinary services/aid are available in a compact area. This would encourage dairy farming with 20-30 cows/animals on a commercial scale.

To meet their daily cash needs the small farmers also need help to setup small-scale dairy units with two to three animals (buffaloes/cows) so that their meagre farm income is supplemented. As the number of good/high yielding buffaloes is declining, there is need to set up rearing farms for buffaloes. High yielding buffaloes need to be identified and used as a base for further rearing of high yield milch animals.

There is a large number of educated unemployed youths in the rural areas of the state. In order to provide them with gainful employment and a source of regular income, there is need to start 'broiler farming'. There is a great demand for poultry meat both in the country as well as in the Middle East. In order to ensure an annual income of about Rs. 60,000-Rs. 80,000, broiler farms with 2,000 birds each should be set up and the necessary funds arranged from banks at a reasonable rate of interest. To successfully implement such a programme, some private processing units should be encouraged. Such units should provide quality day-old chicks, good quality feed and veterinary aid. The mature birds (after six weeks) should be purchased by the unit at the market rate. However, such units must agree (under contract) to provide a minimum price to the farmer, even if there is a fall in prices. The state should aim at setting up at least 10,000 broiler farms in the next two years, with modern processing units which would ensure quality for competitive national and international marketing.

Maize used to be an important *kharif* crop of Punjab till the introduction of high yield varieties of rice towards the early seventies. The area under maize at that time (1970-71) was more than 5.5 lakh hectares. It was largely grown in the northern and central districts of the state. Due to the better economics of paddy cultivation, mainly due to government support, the area under rice increased very fast at the cost of other *kharif* crops, mainly maize, groundnut and *kharif* pulses. At present, the area under maize is around 1.5 lakh hectares in the state.

Research workers of PAU have developed a maize hybrid which can be successfully grown in the spring and *kharif* season and also gives a very high yield. The average yield of both spring and *kharif*

maize reported on a large scale by the farmers is in the range of eight to 8.5 tonnes per hectare. The minimum support price fixed for maize at present is Rs. 540 per quintal. If arrangements could be made to ensure that the produce is procured at the minimum support price, the farmers would take up cultivation of maize on a much larger scale.

Small farmers can take up its cultivation largely in the central districts and improve their economy. There are two prerequisites for achieving this objective. (i) Hybrid seed in adequate quantities is produced and supplied to the farmers. It will have to be backed by a strong seed production and certification programme along with strong market support. In addition to helping the small farmers to improve their economy, it will also revive the hybrid seed production industry on a large scale in the state. (ii) Assured marketing at MSP. Processing facilities should be created for corn oil, dextrose, breakfast cereals, cattle feed, etc. Government intervention is necessary to provide specific incentives to maize, oilseeds and wood-processing industry.

In order to provide off-farm (supplemental) income and also to reduce the population pressure on land, unemployed or under-employed persons from the rural areas should be given the necessary vocational training that will enable them to get jobs in the industry/service sector. It is suggested that new industrial units, including agro-processing industries, be located in the rural areas by creating proper facilities of road links with the highways and providing other facilities of power, water, etc. The industry should recruit persons from the surrounding rural areas both for unskilled and semi-skilled jobs. They should be trained by the industry for a period of three to six months or as needed. A training allowance should be provided to the trainees by the state government.

The *kandi* area of Punjab comprises about five lakh hectares which form about 10.7 per cent of the total area of the state. This sub-mountainous region continues to be under-developed due to low irrigation facilities, undulating land, topography and *choes* which are not suitable for annual crops due to low productivity. Similarly, the riverine bet areas suffer from low productivity. In the southern districts, there are pockets which have problems of waterlogging, soil salinity and brackish underground water. In such problem (low productivity) areas, there is need to design specific production programmes which are feasible and economically viable. For example, cultivation of fruit trees, forestry, medicinal plants, jatropha cultivation and organic

farming can be economically undertaken to improve the economic condition of the *kandi* areas of the state. Programmes for improving the production potential of waterlogged/salt-affected areas should be prepared and implemented.

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Promoting Agriculture Sector Growth

Some Policy and Technology Issues

S S Johl

According to classical growth models, the development of the Indian economy is on the right track. Though the primary sector is growing in absolute terms, its share in the GDP is declining and the share of the tertiary sector (services) is increasing at a very high rate. The secondary sector too is growing, yet the growth is low and slow. As an overall model it looks fine, yet a disquietening feature is that the population is not moving out of the primary sector to other sectors of the economy correspondingly. Consequently, some two-thirds of the population of the country are contributing and depending upon about 20 per cent share of the GDP in the agriculture sector. On the other hand, one-fourth of the population in the services sector are contributing about 60 per cent of the GDP. The industrial sector is growing more in the informal sector and employment in the formal sector is not expanding as per expectations.

Of particular concern is the agriculture sector, because production is plateauing, total factor productivity is on the decline, productivity of purchased inputs, such as fertilizers and pesticides, is not matching their costs, natural resources, particularly water resources, are getting depleted, soils are getting degenerated and the environment is getting polluted. In the face of this, there are clear signs of technology fatigue in the country. This is going to have very serious consequences for the agricultural/rural populations.

The responsibility rests at two levels, one at the policy level and the other in translating the technology into dissemination and use at the field level. At the policy level, it is not only the availability of the inputs, rather more important is their right pricing and targeting the subsidized inputs to the small, marginal and poor farmers. Again, the right choice

of the type of subsidies is very important for promoting growth in this sector. In the first place, investment subsides must find preference over input subsidies. If input subsidies are to be given, these must be targeted to those who need these subsidies, i.e., the small, marginal and poor farmers. We have to keep in mind that investment subsidies build capacities and promote growth, but undifferentiated input subsidies create vested interests. Large and richer farmers in such cases often appropriate large chunks of these subsidies in the name of poor farmers. Take the case of free electric power to the farm sector. What sense does it make to supply free electricity to farmers who grow hundreds of acres of potatoes and even other crops? The situation today in Punjab, parts of Haryana, and western UP is that, due to uncontrolled exploitation of underground water resources encouraged by extremely low cost or free electricity, the water table is receding very fast. In Punjab, free electricity and even the flat rate system has done incalculable harm to the interest of small and poor farmers. With free electricity, the uncontrolled overuse and misuse of water has rendered more than one-fourth of the centrifugal pumpsets dysfunctional. The large and rich farmers have resorted to submersible pumps, which are further lowering the water table at a fast rate. The small and poor farmers do not have the wherewithal to install submersible pumps. Their well/bores are now dry and their pumps do not function. Thus their lands have been converted into dry lands. The situation is alarming, yet the policy makers are oblivious of the impending disaster and are driven solely by their electoral considerations. Unless, water is considered as a social resource and rightly priced, the future of the agricultural sector in this state is doomed and food security of the country will be at risk.

Concomitant with this, is the need for an appropriate policy on the price structure of different agricultural commodities, which should promote the production of such crops on a sustainable basis, as are most suited to the resource endowments of different areas of the country. This policy is utterly lacking in the country. For instance, why should we produce more foodgrains and export them at a loss (India exported more than 19 million tons of foodgrains in less than three years ending December 2004 at a loss of over Rs. 10,000 crore) and import pulses and oilseeds/oils worth about Rs. 14,000 crore every year. The policy makers need to seriously consider how much virtual water we import and how much of it we export. Water being the most scarce resource, we

must maximize our returns on water in the agriculture sector. This is a very important and crucial policy issue which is not receiving the due attention of our policy makers.

On technology, one has to remember that where it is the policy that facilitates and promotes the development of technology and its application, the policy remains sterile and unproductive if there is no progress on the development of appropriate technology on a continuous basis. Our policy must promote basic sciences research that is used in developing appropriate genotypes in crops and animals. Recent advances need to be further supported and encouraged that would make it possible to design our crops and animals having higher productivity and resistance/tolerance to biotic and abiotic stresses.

Now, with the unprecedented advances made in various fields of bio-technology, particularly in the areas of tissue culture, genetic engineering tools and techniques, functional genomics and bioinformatics, it is time to focus on basic work for developing plant genotypes that are ideally suitable for different agro-ecological regions of the country. Development of designer crops is the buzz word in futuristic research. Basic work on aspects like introduction of cold/frost resistance and resistance/tolerance to other biotic and abiotic stresses, improvement of the shelf life of the produce, processing-specific quality genotypes, and transportability assumes special importance. With new tools and techniques now available, it has become easily possible to handle all these aspects. For instance, so far fish gene was being used in tomatoes for their resistance/tolerance to cold and improvement in shelf life. It worked well. Now cold resistant genes are available from plants that survive under snow. The Institute of Himalayan Bioresource Technology (IHBT), for example, has isolated and even patented such a gene from a plant (Potentila) surviving under snow in the Himalayas. Pathways for cold-resistant and anti-oxidant genes in this plant have been defined. In another case, work on incorporation of cold-resistant genes into castor plants and improvement of oilseed crops through genetic tools, tissue culture and biotechnological tools, leading to introgression of desirable characters from wild plants of sunflower and inter-specific hybridization work on jatropha, points to the tremendous scope for improvement of fruits and plantation crops. Futuristic research must, therefore, focus on the application of state-of-the-art biotechnological tools and techniques in the improvement of plant genotypes. This is a pressing need, especially in areas where underground water is getting depleted at an alarming rate and also in

areas where high value local and exotic plant types have the scope for replacing traditional low-value production patterns. Such focused research needs to be financed liberally and supported through policy stances.

It is quite encouraging that now oocytes of animals can be cryo-preserved and it has been proved that post-thawing they cleave and fertilize better. This approach opens up vast opportunities for the establishment of gamete banks from which particular combinations of choice can be derived at the researchers' convenience. Since the embryos too can be cryo-preserved, this facilitates research in improvement of animals on the desired lines both for milk and meat production and other desirable characters.

At present, embryo transplant is done primarily for bull production. The success rate of embryo transplant is much less than that through artificial insemination. There is need for concerted strategic research both on cryo-preservation of oocytes and establishment of gamete banks for cows for developing embryos with desired characters and also for perfecting embryo transplant technologies to achieve a higher success rate, so that this technique is used for extensive improvement of animals with desirable characters.

These are a few of the aspects I have put forth for according priority in strategic and futuristic research in order that the agricultural sector is put on a higher and faster growth path through technology and policy support.

Positron Emission Tomography

B R Mittal and K K Talwar

Positron emission tomography (PET) is a non-invasive diagnosis technique which allows the acquisition of images using PET camera, showing the metabolism and function of tissues and organs. The main feature of this technique is the use of positron emitting isotopes, that is, positive electrons. The interaction of the positrons with an electron present in the medium gives rise to two gamma radiations which are emitted at an angle of 180 to each other. The simultaneous external detection of two photons at this angle by means of detectors placed in coincidence, i.e., opposite each other, makes it possible to locate and quantify their emission in the area under study. Michel M Ter-Pogossian, Michael Phelps and Edward J Hoffman along with several other members of a multidisciplinary collaborative team developed the first human PET scanner in 1973 at Washington University in St Louis.

PET provides the means for imaging the rates of biologic processes in vivo. It provides images of blood flow or other biochemical functions, depending upon the type of molecule that is radioactively tagged. For example, PET can show images of glucose metabolism in the brain, or rapid changes in activity in various areas of the body. PET has enhanced our understanding of the biochemical basis of normal and abnormal functions within the body, and permitted biochemical examination of patients as part of their clinical care. These capabilities are important because:

- The basis of all tissue function is chemical.
- Diseases result from errors introduced into its chemical systems by viruses, bacteria, genetic abnormalities, drugs, environmental factors, ageing, and behaviour.
- The most selective, specific, and appropriate therapy is one chosen from a diagnostic measure of the basic chemical abnormality.

- Detection of chemical abnormalities provides the earliest identification of disease, even in the pre-symptomatic stages before the disease process has exhausted the chemical reserves or overridden the compensatory mechanisms of the brain.

- Assessment of restoration of the chemical function provides an objective means for determining the efficacy of therapeutic interventions in the individual patient.

- The best way to judge whether the tissue is normal is by determining its biochemical function.

Another principle relates to the value of examining these biochemical processes with an imaging technology. Because, in most cases the location and extent of a disease is unknown, the first objective is an efficient means of searching throughout the body to determine its location. Imaging is an extremely efficient process for accomplishing this aim, because data are presented in pictorial form to the most efficient human sensory system for search, identification, and interpretation by the visual system. Recognition depends upon the type of information in the image, both in terms of interpreting what it means and how sensitive it is to identify the presence of disease. PET builds a bridge of communication and investigation between the basic and clinical sciences, based upon a commonality of methods used and problems studied.

The strength of PET is not due to the reconstruction process only, but due to short-lived radionuclides that are important in the body and decay through positron emission. The transfer of tracer methods from the basic biological sciences to humans with PET is made possible by the unique nature of the radioisotopes used in PET to label compounds: ^{11}C, ^{13}N, ^{15}O, and ^{18}F. These are the only radioactive forms of the natural elements (1SF is used as a substitute for hydrogen) emitting radiation that passes through the body for external detection. Natural substrates, substrate analogs, and drugs can be labelled with these radioisotopes without altering their chemical or biological properties. This allows the methods, knowledge, and interpretation of results from tracer kinetic assays used in the basic biological sciences to be applied to humans by the quantitative measurement abilities of the PET scanner.

Two common tracers for whole-body imaging are $[^{18}F-]$ and $[^{18}F]$ FDG. The uptake of F- in the skeleton is proportional to the osteoblastic activity, and the uptake mechanism is an ion exchange between the

F- and a hydroxyl ion at the hydroxyapatite crystal surface in the bone. One of the attractive features of F- is the high specific activity of uptake into the bone. The uptake of FDG in soft tissue is proportional to glycolysis. The rational for using FDG in tumour localization is that an increase in glycolysis is a biochemical indicator of a malignancy.

Positron emitters have a very short half-life, meaning that scans have to be performed near a cyclotron. The cyclotron is a multi-use facility which houses a proton beam therapy medical facility as well as beamlines for radiation effects testing. Medical cyclotron is a particle-accelerating device that allows the hospital to produce its own radiopharmaceuticals for patients undergoing a PET/CT scan. The cyclotron principle involves using an electric field to accelerate charged particles across a gap between two 'D-shaped' magnetic field regions. The magnetic field accelerates the particles in a semicircle, during which time the electric field is reversed in polarity to accelerate the charged particle again as it moves across the gap in the opposite direction. In this way a moderate electric field can accelerate charges a high energy. The first successful cyclotron was given by Earnest O Lawrence in 1930. Cyclotron facility in an hospital requires (a) Cyclotron, (b) radiochemistry laboratory, (c) quality control laboratory, (d) Led accessories and (e) radiation monitoring units.

Though the PET radiopharmaceuticals are very short lived those synthesized with Fluorine-18, which has a half-life of 109 minutes, can be sent to scanners that are further away. The following table enumerates the characteristics of few commonly used PET radiopharmaceuticals.

P E T Radioisotopes		
Labelling Agent	Half-life	Nuclear/reaction
Carbon- 11	20.3 minutes	$^{14}N(p,a)$
Nitrogen-13	10.0 minutes	$^{16}O(p,a)$
Oxygen- 15	2.03 minutes	$^{15}N(p,n)$
Fluorine- 18	109.8 minutes	$^{18}O(p,n)$
Broniine- 75	98.0 minutes	$^{75}As(p,3n)$

The applications of various radiotracers are as followings:

$^{11}CO_2$ Heart metabolism

^{11}CO Blood volume

$^{13}NH_3$	Blood volume, Blood flow
$^{15}O_2$	Oxygen metabolism
$H_2{}^{15}O$	Blood flow
^{18}F	Bone scanning
^{18}F-FDG	Glucose metabolism, Stroke, Dementia, Epilepsy, Tumour imaging, etc.

In a PET scan, the patient is injected with a radioactive substance and placed on a flat table that moves in increments through a 'doughnut' shaped housing. This housing contains the circular gamma ray detector array which has a series of scintillation crystals, each connected to a photomultiplier tube. The crystals convert the gamma rays, emitted from the patient, to photons of light, and the photomultiplier tubes convert and amplify the photons to electrical signals. These electrical signals are then processed by the computer to generate images. The table is then moved, and the process is repeated, resulting in a series of thin slice images of the body over the region of interest (e.g., brain, breast, liver). These thin slice images are assembled into a three dimensional representation of the patient's body. The total duration of the test, which varies according to the type of study, ranges from two to three hours, though the time spent in the scanner is from 30 to 90 minutes.

In the standard protocol for whole-body FDG scanning, the patient is injected intravenously with 10mCi of either F- or FDG. The uptake period is 30 minutes for FDG and 1 hr for F-. The patient is then placed in the scanner and data acquired over a period varying from 30 to 120 minutes. The first half of the whole-body image acquisition is initiated from the head down to the waist. The second half of the acquisition requires repositioning the patient to image the lower half of the body. Each half of the whole-body acquisition consists of 16 bed positions, eight of which are interlaced bed positions required for improved Z axis resolution. Depending on the desired image quality, each bed position can be acquired from two to four minutes, resulting in a total acquisition time of 64 to 128 minutes, respectively. If kinetic information is desired, a transmission scan (attenuation correction) is performed at a prescribed bed position, prior to the isotope injection, and a dynamic acquisition is integrated into the 60 minute uptake period.

In PET-CT imaging, CT shows detailed images of the body's anatomy and internal structures, whereas PET shows changes in

patient's cells. Fusion of both the images provides the best information of anatomy as well as physiology.

Indications for PET include the study of oncological, neurological and cardiological processes. However, its main field of application is in oncology, where the introduction of whole-body PET and the FDG radiopharmaceutical has achieved extraordinary clinical results.

PET scanning with the tracer (^{18}F) fluorodeoxyglucose (FDG, FDG- PET) is widely used in clinical oncology. This tracer mimics glucose and is taken up and retained by tissues with high metabolic activity, such as the brain, the liver, and, most types of malignant tumour. As a result, FDG-PET can be used for diagnosis, staging and monitoring treatment of cancers. PET scan studies have proven extraordinarily useful with different types of tumours amongst which are the following: lymphomas, non-small-cell lung carcinoma, breast, head and neck, colorectal, melanomas, brain. They have also been useful in cancer in other locations such as in the ovaries, bladder, thyroid, pancreas, etc. The application of PET to the study of tumours includes the quantification of tumor perfusion, the evaluation of tumour metabolism, and tracing of radiolabelled cytostatic agents. The advantage of studies performed with PET is that they detect the activity of very small masses of cancerous cells, which give an adequate indication of tumour activity.

The general indications for a PET scan in oncology includes:

1. Initial diagnosis of cancer. Very early diagnosis, in many cases earlier than with other examination methods.
2. Differentiation between benign and malignant tumours.
3. Determination of the degree of tumour malignancy, and therefore, prognosis of its course.
4. Staging the extent of the disease, as it is able to provide images of the primary tumour, lymph node involvement and metastasis.
5. Confirmation of lesion significance detected by CT, MRI and X-ray studies.
6. Treatment response follow-up monitoring.
7. Detection of possible disease recurrence, especially in patients with a highlevel of tumour markers, even with negative result in other examination techniques.

8. Differential diagnosis between tumour recurrence and scar tissue or radionecrosis, due to radiotherapy.

PET has been important in cardiovascular research and in clinical cardiology. Although numerous radiopharmaceuticals have been used to render physiologic, biochemical and clinical information, 18F- FDG imaging is the most common, which is used for identification of jeopardized but viable myocardium that can be salvaged with revascularization. Myocardial perfusion imaging with PET agents provides higher resolution than single photon emission computed tomography (SPECT) agents, and PET agents can be used to determine absolute blood flow.

Positron emission tomography has several cardiac applications including:

- Assessment of myocardial viability.
- Confirmation of myocardial ischemia.
- Pre-transplantation assessment.
- Diagnosis of cardiomyopathy.

Myocardial perfusion is a test that assesses the blood flow (perfusion) to the heart muscle (myocardium). The procedure is similar to the Thallium Stress Test. This test helps to determine if the patient is receiving an adequate amount of blood flow to the heart and if he/she has coronary artery disease (CAD).

Clinical Indications for PET Cardiac Perfusion Studies:

- Coronary artery disease.
- Evaluate the patient post-angioplasty (PTCA).
- Dilated cardiomyopathy.
- Myocardial infarction.
- Acute and chronic vascular disease.
- Atypical chest pain.
- Chronic ischemia.
- Abnormal ECG.
- Hyperlipidemia.
- Diabetes mellitus..
- Identification of areas at risk of myocardial necrosis when compared with FDG viability study.

FDG PET is used in cardiology to assess the viability of the heart. Myocardial viability studies with FDG-PET are performed in patients with ischemic heart disease and left ventricular function, who are potential candidates for coronary revascularization. Persons whose study demonstrates segments with reduced perfusion but normal or high FDG uptake (known as a perfusion-metabolism mismatch) are benefited from revascularization. However, persons whose study demonstrates a markedly reduced perfusion and reduced FDG uptake (known as a perfusion-metabolism match) do not improve functionally if a revascularization procedure is performed.

PET brain imaging is based on an assumption that areas of high radioactivity are associated with brain activity. What is actually measured indirectly is the flow of blood to different parts of the brain, which is generally believed to be correlated and usually measured using the tracer oxygen (^{15}O). In psychiatry, its use is to examine links between specific psychological processes or disorders. Major applications are in dementias, degenerative brain diseases and brain tumors. In brain tumors, it is very helpful to assess if the tumour is benign or malignant, guide the biopsy to the focus with most activity and is differentiate between recurrence and post-radiotherapy changes.

In pre-clinical trials, it is possible to radio-label a new drug and inject it into animals. The uptake of the drug, the tissues in which it concentrates and its eventual elimination, can be monitored far more quickly and cost-effectively than the older technique of killing and dissecting the animals to obtain the same information.

PET has successfully made transition from the research laboratory to the clinic. The essence of PET is in-vivo chemistry as structures are slow processes of long duration, whereas functions are fast processes of short duration. Characterization of the disease on the basis of regional biochemistry provides a new way to classify disease and a new approach to patient care. Fusion imaging using PET-CT will completely change not only the way physicians practice, but also the clinical value of procedures increasing the diagnostic accuracy and hence determining the most appropriate therapy. The clinical PET has already become a reality in the developed world and is also making its presence in other countries.

Chandigarh Cyclotron and its Application to Biomedical and Environmental Research and A Proposal for the 'Centre for Medical Cyclotron and Research'

I M Govil

The Cyclotron at Chandigarh: The machine is a single Dee classical cyclotron with arrangement to vary the energy of the various accelerated ions. The resolved beam of Protons (2-4MeV), Deuterons (1-4 MeV), Alpha Particles (2-8 MeV) and He-3 up to 11 MeV are obtained on the target with beam current up to 100 nA. The main magnet is made of mild steel weighing about 20 tons. Pole tips are made of soft iron also serve as the vacuum lids to the main chamber of the machine containing the Dee, the dummy Dee and the deflector. Four current carrying coils each carrying a maximum current of 100 Amps at 125 Volts provide a magnetic field up to 14 k Gauss. The high frequency voltage variable from 10-20 MHz to the Dee is provided by an oscillator driven from a RCA 5771 tube with a dissipation power of about 25 KVA. A cavity of 250 cm long and 65 cm outer diameter with the Dee stem of 7.5 cm diameter forms the tank circuit of the oscillator tube. This is coupled to the tube by filament leads through a coupling cylinder 25 cm in diameter. The oscillator works in $\lambda/4$ mode and the shorting bar controls the frequency of the oscillator by providing a terminated line. The high Q of the oscillator circuits (= 1000) takes care of the stability of the frequency and the Dee voltage. The deflector The deflector is a simple electrostatic type with provision for a maximum DC voltage of about 90 KV. The deflector blade with the oil-cooling arrangement is made of copper, and the septum is made of very thin tungsten plate. The machine has a hooded arc ion source whose physical design was somewhat modified by providing an anticathode at the head for better performance and flexibility of movement.

Recent modifications

- **The main magnet power supply:** The generator power supply to the main magnet is replaced with a highly stable solid-state power supply with output power of 50 kW, 125V/400A and a stability of 10 ppm. This modification has increased the orbital stability and beam focusing which in turn has improved the beam extraction efficiency considerably.

- **The RF oscillator power supply:** The RF oscillator power supply has been modified replacing the mercury vacuum tube rectifiers with high voltage silicon diodes and capacitor network. This has improved the oscillator voltage and thereby the beam characteristics.

- **Analyzer magnet power supply:** Instead of the earlier generator supply, a highly stable solid-state power supply of output power 20A/125V with stability of 10 ppm now supplies power to the analyser magnet. This modification gives us a stable and analyzed beam of high energy resolution at the target.

- **PIXE setup:** The new scattering chamber was designed and installed which has provisions for low energy HPGe x-ray detector, HPGe γ-ray detector and Silicon Surface Barrier charged particle detectors. The sample holder wheel can accommodate 12/24 samples (25/12 mm) with remote controlled sample changing facility.

  Installed a low energy HPGe x-ray detector with 6.0 mm active diameter, 6.0 mm active depth and 12.7 μm Be window giving almost 100 per cent efficiency for 3 keV to 60 keV. The energy resolution of the detector is 135 eV at 5.9 keV and can handle high count rates up to 100,000 cps.

  The turbo molecular vacuum pump system was attached to the scattering chamber to produce a clean vacuum of $\sim 10^7$ torr.

Proton Induced X-ray Emission (PIXE)

Protons of energy 2 – 3 MeV hitting the target ionises the atomic inner shells of the material. These vacancies are then filled up by the outer shell electrons resulting in the emission of characteristics x-rays of that element. This technique is known as Particle Induced X-ray Emission (PIXE). It is a multi-elemental and non-destructive technique

with PPM sensitivity, fast feed through, high lateral resolution and relatively straightforward quantification in bulk samples. It can be used in conjunction with other surface sensitive and nuclear techniques for analysis of the lightest elements. A general view of the PXIE set up at the Chandigarh cyclotron is given in Figure 1

Figure 1
PIXE Setup at Chandigarh Cyclotron
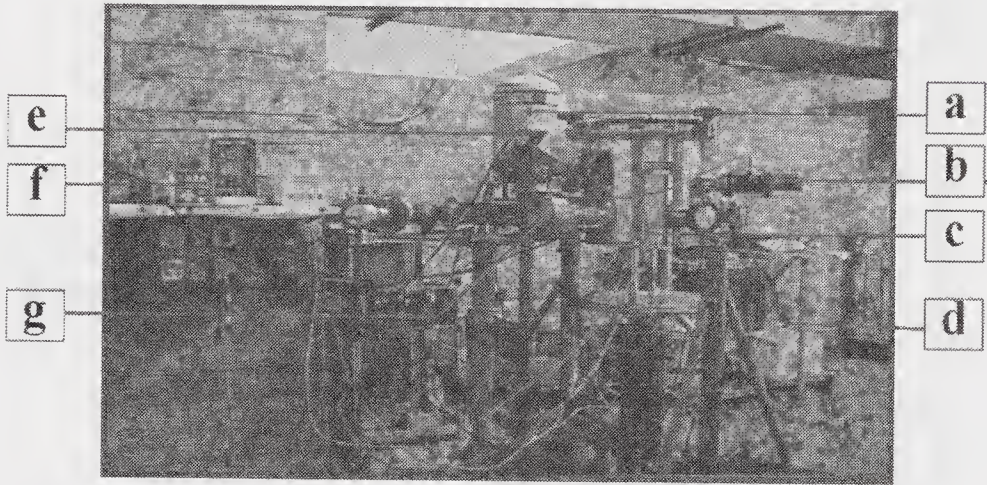
The performance of the PIXE set up was standardized by doing PIXE analysis of different NIST standard reference materials (SRM). From the PIXE spectrum of NIST spinach standard (Figure 2) K and Ca are found as the major elements where as Fe, Cl and Al are found in traces. The concentrations of these elements are in agreement with the quoted values.

a) HPGe X-ray detector

b) Stepper Motor

c) PIXE Chamber

d) Faraday Cup

e) CCD Camera

f) Controls for Turbo Molecular Pump

g) Position for γ-ray detector or Si(Li) horizontal detector

Figure 2
PIXE spectrum of spinach

Figure 2
PIXE spectrum of spinach
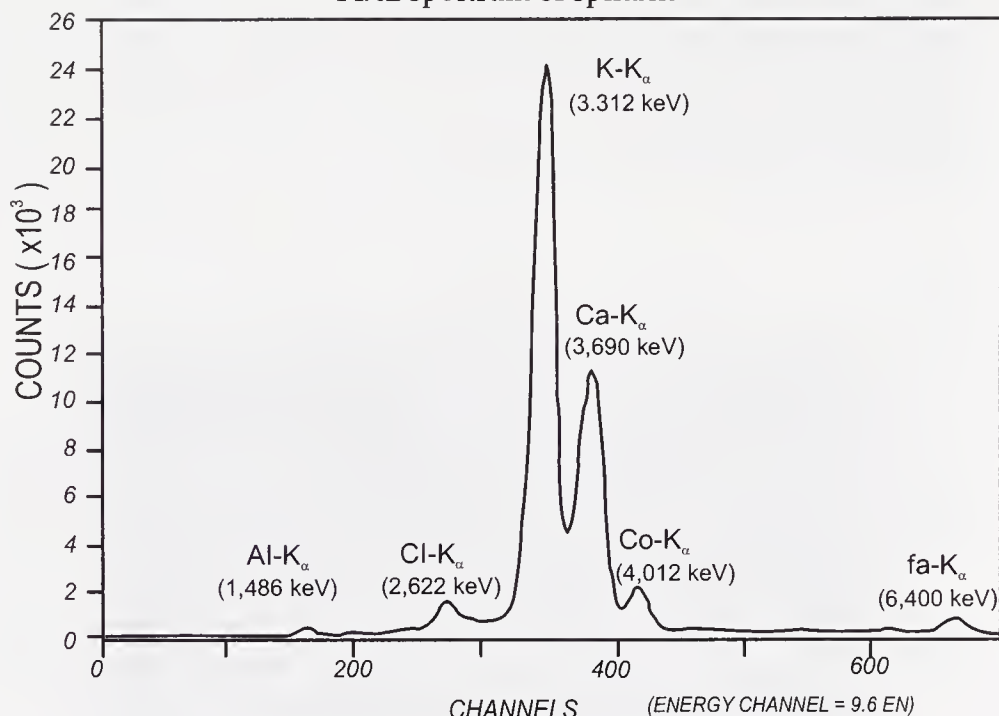
Applications of PIXE at Chandigarh Cyclotron

Biomedical Sciences

- **Blood samples:** Blood samples of orthodontic patients are analyzed in collaboration with Oral Health Department, PGIMER, Chandigarh to determine if the patients accumulate measurable concentration of Ni in blood or not. A typical PIXE spectrum of such blood sample is given in Figure 3. No Ni concentration in the blood was detected at the time of insertion of braces.

- **Kidney stones:** Analysis of elemental constituents and concentrations of kidney stones by PIXE may provide information about any causal element present in the dietary regime of north Indian population. This would help the physician in suggesting remedial measure. A typical PIXE spectrum of kidney stone is given in Figure 4.

- **Liver tissues:** In collaboration with Department of Biophysics, Panjab University, PIXE analysis of rat liver tissues were conducted in order to study the role of Se in As toxicity in liver. Typical spectra of the liver tissues are given in figure 4. Presence

of As is observed in the liver samples of the rats treated with Arsenic. But the concentration of As is found to be decreased in the case of those rats who were treated with both As and Se.

Figure 3
Typical PIXE Spectra of (a) Blood Sample of Orthodontic Patient;
(b) A Pellet of Graphite used as Binder
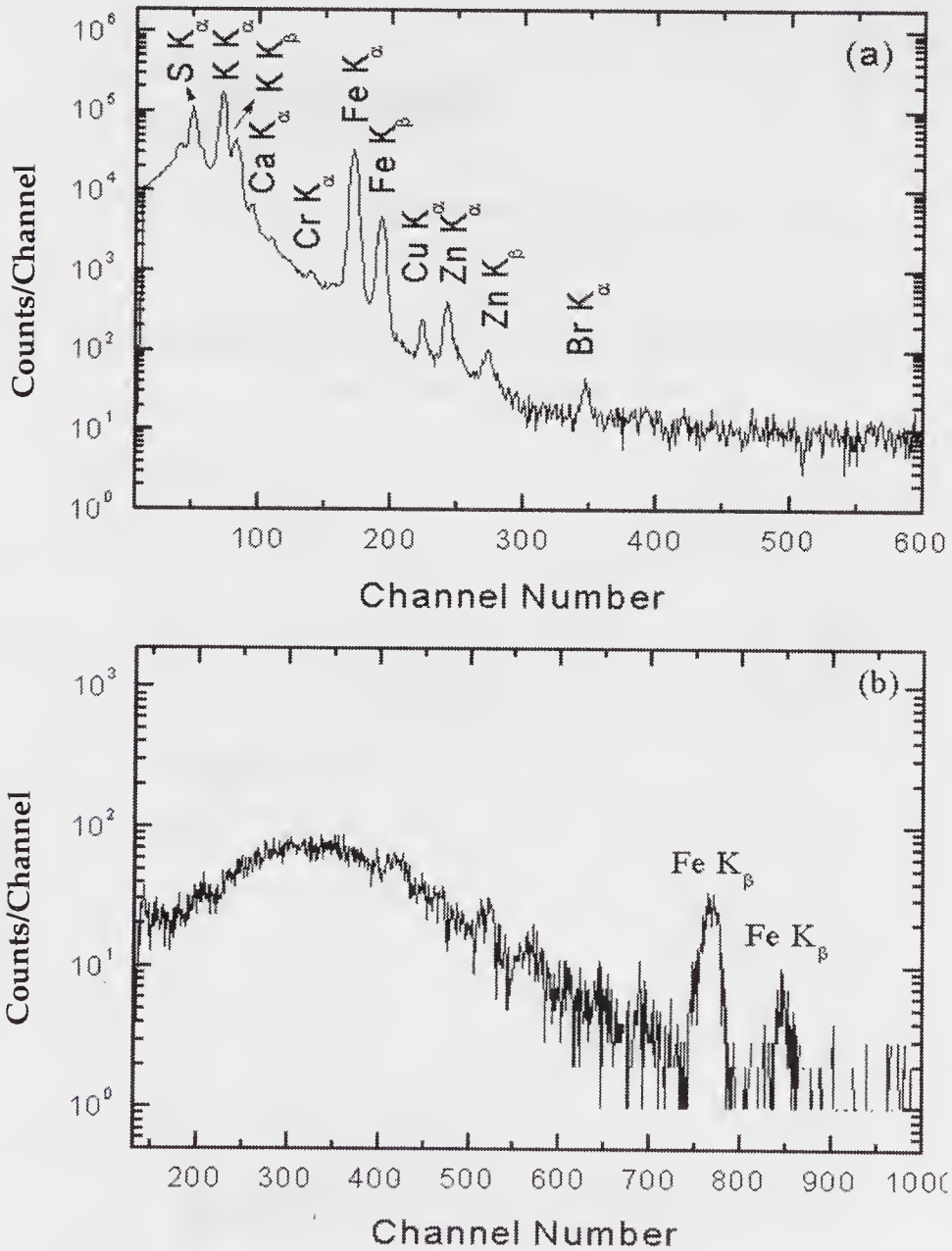
Figure 4

Figure 4
Typical PIXE Spectrum of Kidney Stone Sample
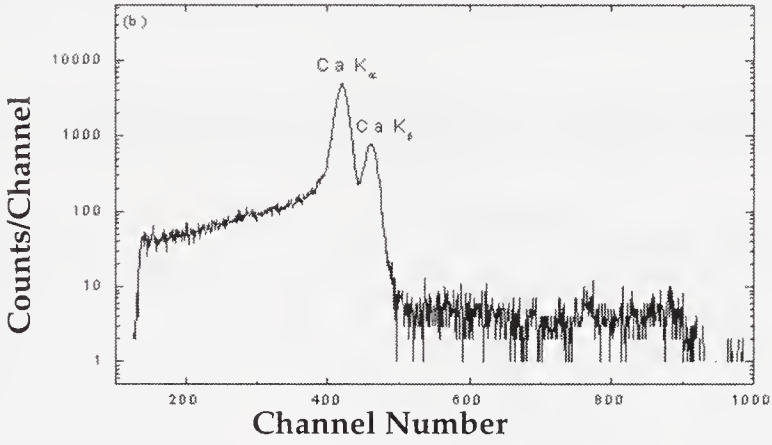
Figure 5
Typical Spectra of Rat Liver Tissue Samples (a) Treated with As
(b) Treated with Both As and Se
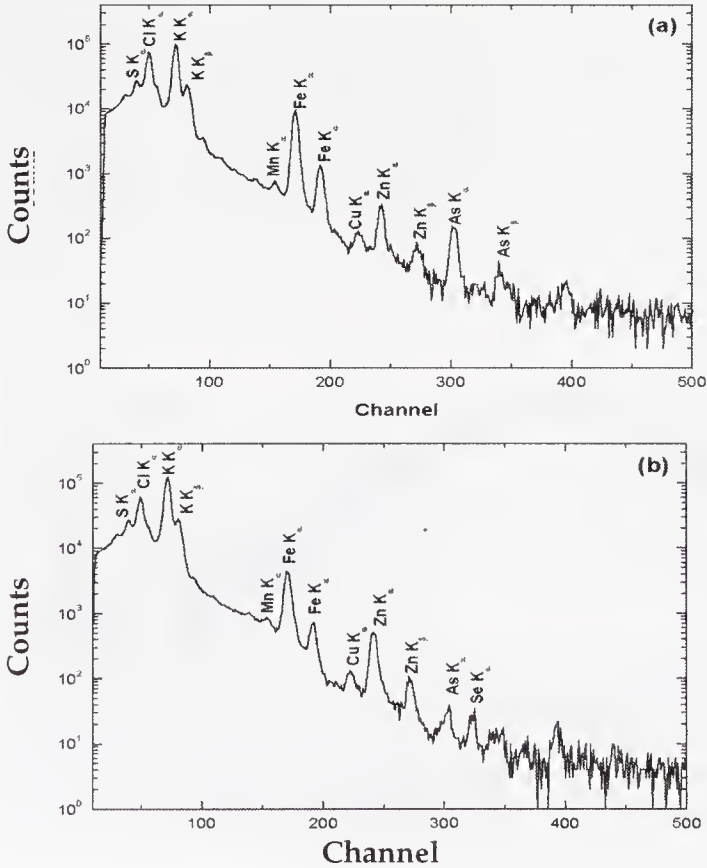
Environmental Sciences

- **Aerosol samples:** Harmful elements present in Air pose a great risk to the life of the workers and the population, which is exposed to various toxic elements present in the environment; hence these studies are important from their health point of view. For this purpose, PIXE analysis of aerosol samples from different environments was carried out to provide data on presence of different trace element in the ambient of different environments. Aerosol samples from the industrial city of Mandi Gobindgarh, the city of Jammu, thermal power plant at Ropar and roadside vehicular exhaust were collected. Typical spectra of the aerosol samples are given in figure 6 - 8.

Figure 6

Typical spectra of aerosol samples from Mandi Gobindgarh; a) particle size ≥2.5 mm, b) particle size <2.5 mm
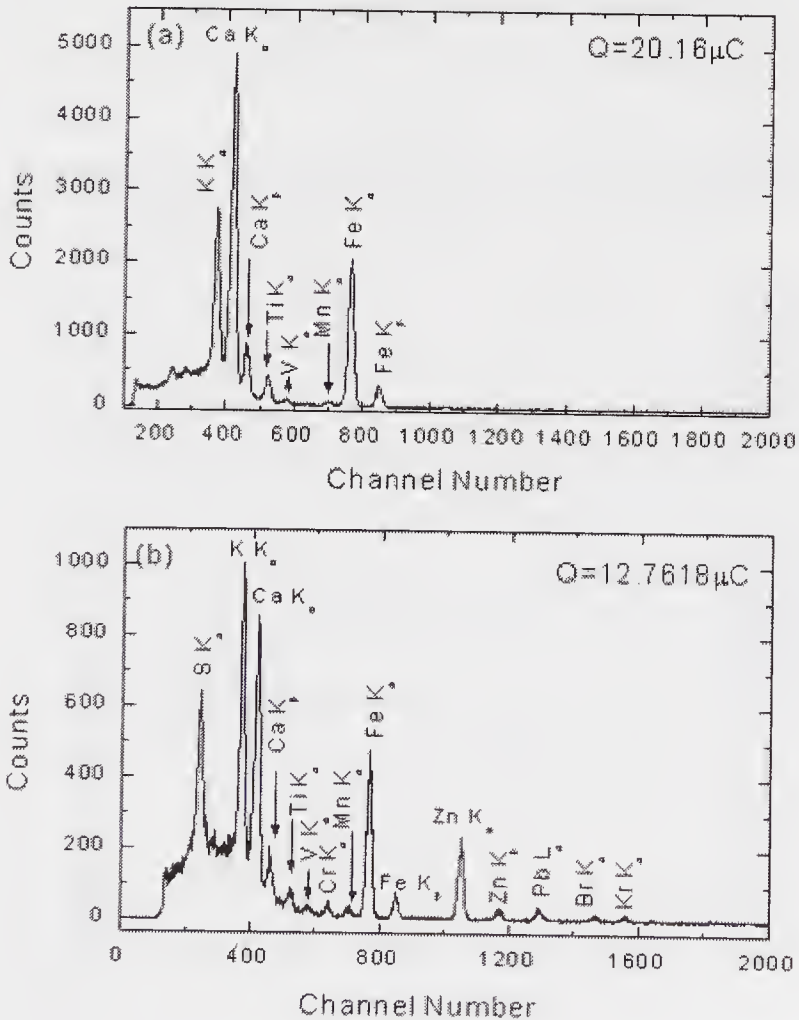
Figure 7

PIXE Spectrum of an Aerosol Sample from Jammu Region after
Subtraction of the Contribution due to Glass Fibre Filter
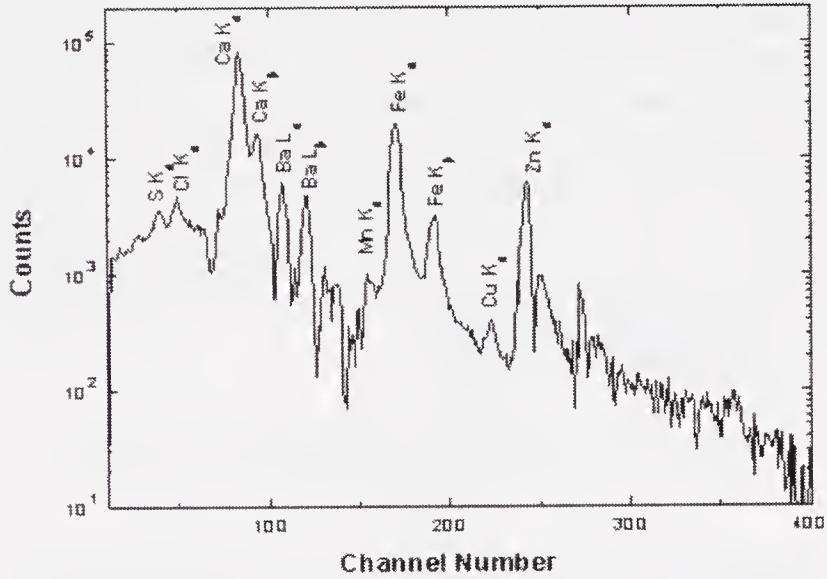
Figure 8

Typical PIXE Spectra of Aerosol Samples from; (a) Automobile
Service Station (b) Road Side Vehicular Exhaust
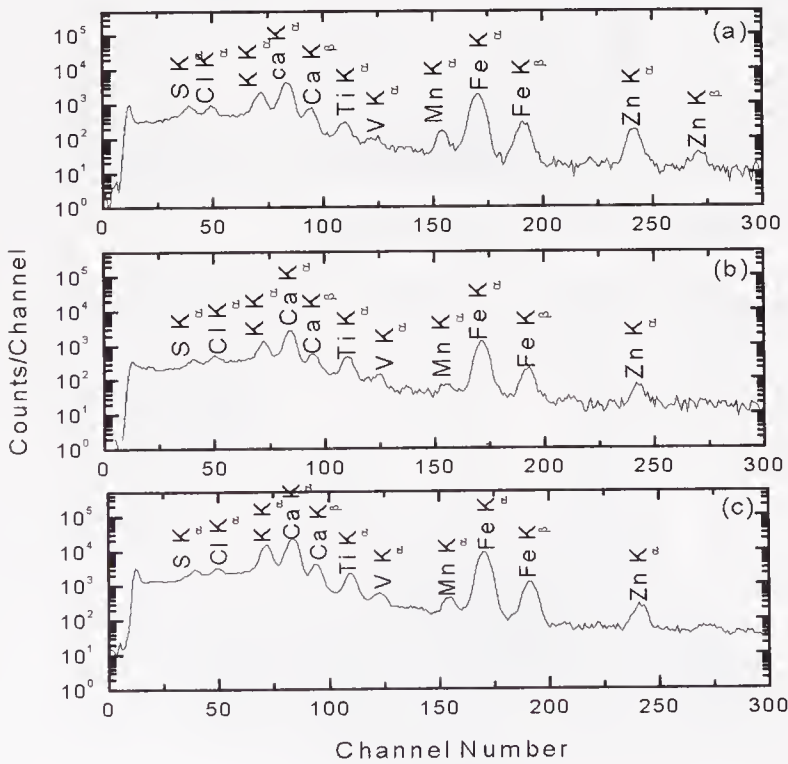
- **Water samples:** Water samples form different parts of Patiala city were analyzed to study the presence of different elements. A typical spectrum is shown in figure 9.

Figure 9
Typical PIXE Spectrum of Water Sample from Patiala city.
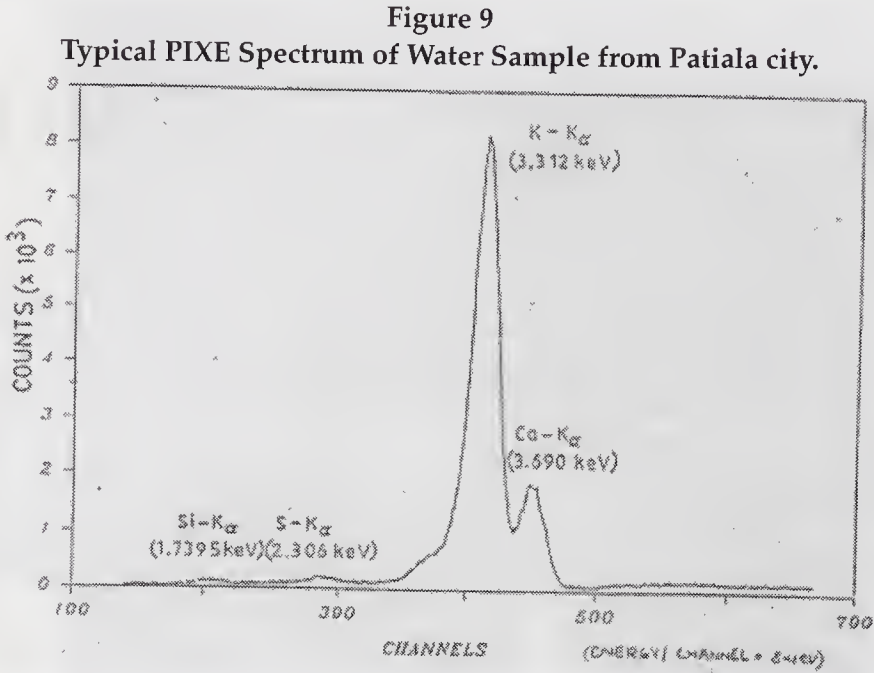
A proposal for the Centre for Medical Cyclotron and Research

1. Positron Emission Tomography (PET)

Many short lived radioactive isotope decay by emitting a positron. When some of these isotopes, chemically combined with a metabolically active molecule, are injected into the living subject, the positrons emitted by the isotope are annihilated by electrons and thus emitting two γ-rays in opposite directions as shown in figure 10. By detecting the origin and intensity of these γ-rays the activity of that part of the body can be determined. Some common useful positron emitting isotopes along with their half-lives are listed in table 1. These are produced by nuclear reactions induced by energetic protons (~ 20 MeV) or charged particles from accelerators as mentioned below.

$^{11}B + p \rightarrow {}^{11}C + n$

$^{14}N + p \rightarrow {}^{11}C + \gamma$

$^{18}O + p \rightarrow {}^{18}F + n$

$^{16}O + {}^{3}He \rightarrow {}^{18}Ne + n \rightarrow {}^{18}F$

$^{13}C + p \rightarrow {}^{13}N + n$
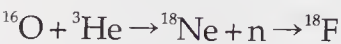
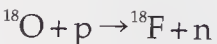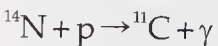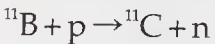$^{124}Te + p \rightarrow {}^{124}I + n$

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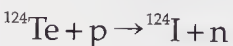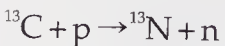
Figure 10

Graphical Representation of Positron Emission and Annihilation; the
Principle behind Positron Emission Tomography (PET).

Table 1

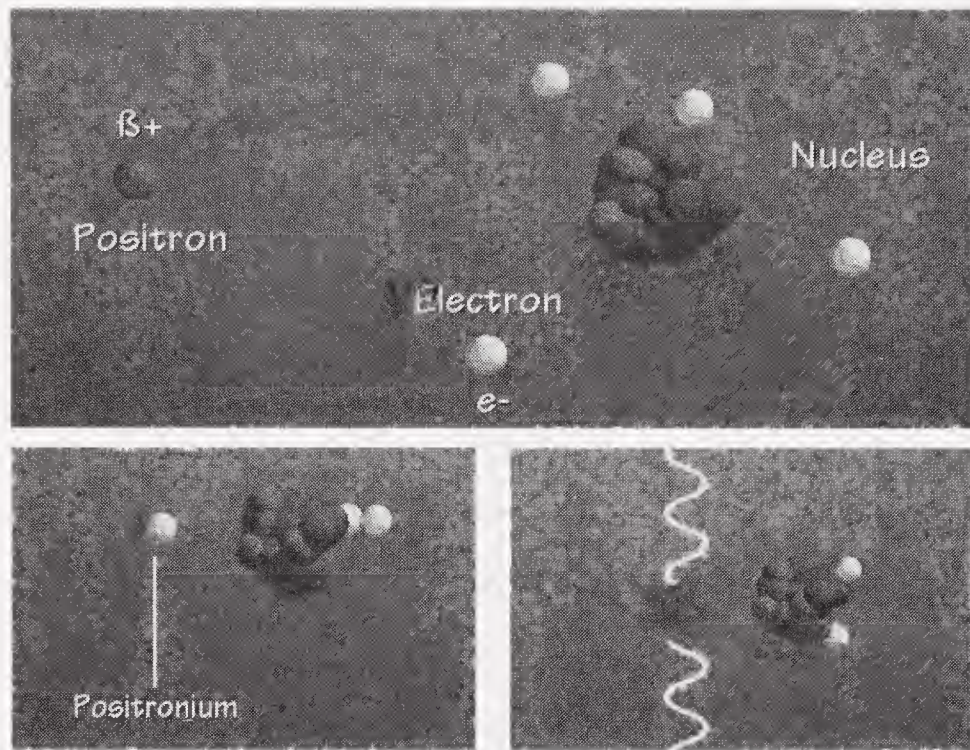Some useful positron emitting isotopes and their half lives

Isotopes	Half life (minutes)
^{11}C	20.30
^{13}N	9.97
^{15}O	2.03
^{18}F	110.00
^{66}Ga	564.0
^{75}Br	98.00
^{82}Rb	1.25
^{94}Tc	52.50
^{124}I	4.17 days

- **Uses of ^{11}C labelled compounds :** Various type of compounds labelled with ^{11}C is found to be useful in diagnostics and research. Acetate is very useful in assessing the metabolic status of the heart.

Cocaine has been utilized in human and monkey brain to study the distribution and pharmokinetics of this agent as shown in figure 11. Deprenyl has been shown to be effective in the treatment of early Parkinson's disease. Leucine can be used to evaluate amino acid uptake and protein synthesis, providing an indicator of tumour viability as shown in figure 12.

Figure 11

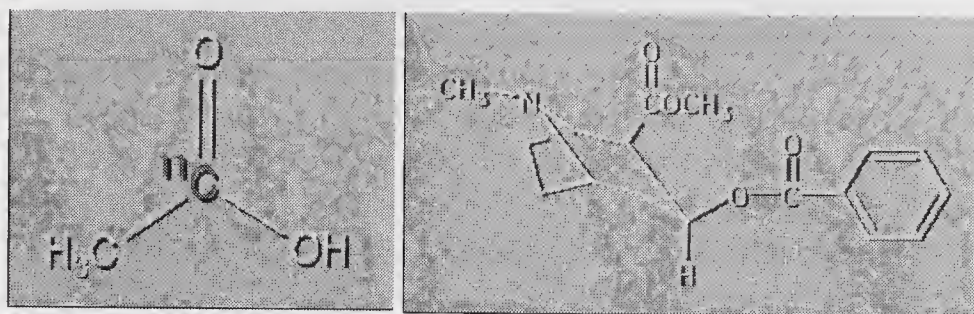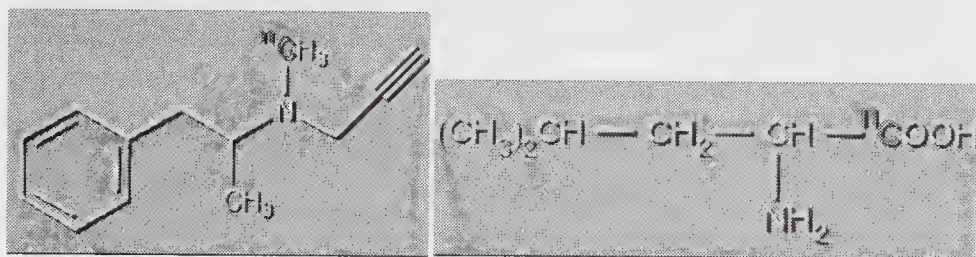**^{13}C labelled, (a) acetate and (b) cocaine**

Figure 12

^{13}C labelled, (a) Deprenyl and (b) Leucine

- **Uses of ^{18}F labelled compounds :** Fluoro-2-deoxyglucose (FDG) is used in neurology, cardiology and oncology to study glucose metabolism. Radiolabeled fluorine ion is a standard agent for clinical bone scanning from the pattern of skeletal uptake as shown in figure 13. Fluoroethylspiperone is a radioligand used for studies of dopaminergic function which, have been used to monitor hormonal effects and neuropathological conditions such as Parkinson's disease and Schizophrenia. Fluorouracil has been used to measure the delivery of chemotherapeutic agents in the treatment of cancer as shown in figure 14.

Figure 13
(a) ^{18}F Lablled, Fluoro-2-Deoxyglucose and
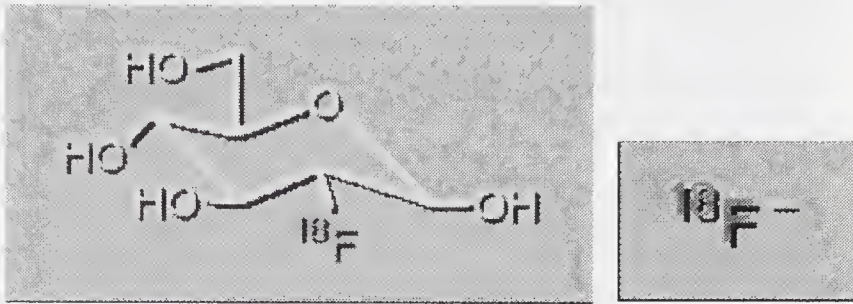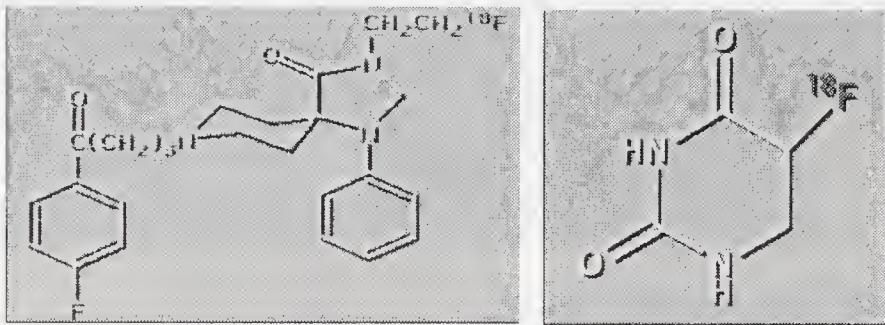**(b) Radio Lablled Fluorine Ion**


Figure 14
(a) ^{18}F Lablled, Fluoroethylspiperone and (b) Fluorouracil

- **Uses of 13N labelled compounds**

Ammonia can be used to measure blood flow and myocardial perfusion studies. Ammonia studies are often combined with [18F]FDG to compare myocardial blood flow with glucose metabolism in an effort to detect "mismatch", an index of viable but compromised tissue as shown in figure 15.

Figure 15
^{13}N labelled ammonia.
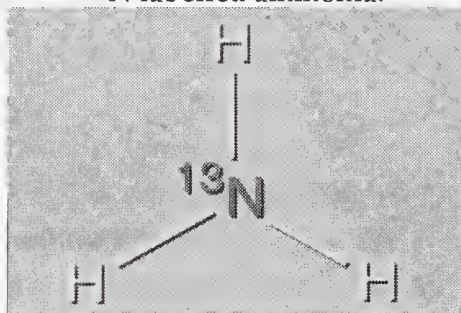
- **Other isotopes:**

    ^{66}Ga is useful for labelling antibody fragments and low molecular weight proteins.

    ^{82}Rb is used for myocardial perfusion studies, where its short half-life allows for rapid rest/stress paired studies to be performed.

    ^{94}Tc is being used to produce a myocardial imaging agent and a tumour imaging agent.

    ^{124}I is also an useful isotope for the treatment of patients suffering from goitre disorders.
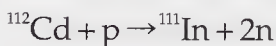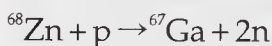
2. **Single Photon Emission Computed Tomography (SPECT)**

    In this technique, internal radiation is administered by means of a pharmaceutical, which is labelled with a radioactive isotope. The radioactive isotope decays, resulting in the emission of γ-rays. Detection of these gamma rays gives a picture of what's happening inside the patient's body. Some of the useful radioisotopes for SPECT along with their lifetimes are listed in Table 2 below,

Table 2

Radioisotopes used in SPECT

Isotopes	Half life (hour)
^{67}Ga	78.25
^{111}In	67.34
^{123}I	13.10
^{201}Tl	73.07

These Isotopes are produced by the following reactions using protons of ≥ 30 MeV.

^{68}Zn + p $\rightarrow$ ^{67}Ga + 2n

^{112}Cd + p $\rightarrow$ ^{111}In + 2n

^{124}Xe + p $\rightarrow$ ^{123}Cs + 2n $\rightarrow$ ^{123}I

^{203}Tl + p $\rightarrow$ ^{201}Pb + 3n $\rightarrow$ ^{201}Tl

Projection of the tentative cost

The cost of the cyclotron for 20 MeV protons along with PET facility and radio chemistry laboratory will be around Rs. 25 crores. The cost of the 30 MeV cyclotron with both PET and SPECT facility will be around Rs. 60 crores.

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Role Of Pushpa Gujral Science City for Socio-Economic Development

R S Khandpur

The tradition of science and technology (S&T) in India is over 5,000 years old. A renaissance was witnessed in the first half of the twentieth century. However, the real push came after India became an independent nation in 1947. The network of national laboratories under CSIR (Council of Scientific and Industrial Research) was expanded. Research laboratories were set up under DRDO (Defence Research and Development Organization), ICAR (Indian Council of Agriculture Research) and ICMR (Indian Council of Medical Research). Establishment of the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre and later on, the Indian Space Research Organization, has given India a prominent place among the elite scientific nations of the world. At the same time, high-level institutes (Indian Institutes of Technology) for Human Resource Development were set up in the early sixties to produce quality technical manpower. As a consequence of setting up these organizations, significant achievements have been made by India in the areas of nuclear and space science, electronics and information technology.

The government is committed to making Science and Technology (S&T) an integral part of the socio-economic development of the country. It has been brought into the mainstream of economic planning in the sectors of agriculture, industry and services. The emphasis of science and technology is to use the country's resources to derive the maximum output for the benefit of society and improvement in the quality of life. About 85 per cent of the funds for S&T come directly or indirectly from government. Over one percent of the GDP is now spent on science and technology related areas.

Considering the very important role the science centres can play in disseminating the message of science to the citizens of India, the

S&T Policy of the Government of India announced in 2003 has, inter alia, provision to ensure that the message of science reaches every citizen of India, man and woman, young and old, so that we advance scientific temper, emerge as a progressive and enlightened society, and make it possible for all our people to participate fully in the development of science and technology and its application for human welfare. Indeed, science and technology will be fully integrated with all spheres of national activity. While formulating the relevant strategy for achieving public awareness, the Policy notes:

- There is growing need to enhance public awareness of the importance of science and technology in everyday life and the directions where science and technology is taking us. The people must be able to consider the implications of emerging science and technology options in areas which impinge directly upon their lives, including the ethical and moral, legal, social and economic aspects. In recent years, advances in biotechnology and information technology have dramatically increased public interest in technology options in wide ranging areas. Scientific work and policies arising from these have to be highly transparent and widely understood.

- Support for wide dissemination of scientific knowledge, through the support of science museums, planetaria, botanical gardens and the like, will be enhanced.

- Every effort will be made to convey to the young the excitement in scientific and technological advances and to instil scientific temper in the population at large.

- Special support will be provided for programmes that seek to popularize and promote science and technology in all parts of the country. Programmes will also be developed to promote learning and dissemination of science through the various national languages, to enable effective science communication at all levels.

It implies that the activities of science museums and science centres have been identified as an area of utmost importance for promoting public awareness of science and technology and the Government of India has given a special thrust in this area.

Post-independent India saw the establishment and growth of the science museum movement in India. Nearly 50 years ago, two

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Science Museums were set up at Pilani in Rajasthan and New Delhi. The Central Museum inside the BITS (Birla Institute of Technology & Science) campus at Pilani and the museum inside the National Physical Laboratory (NPL), New Delhi premises offered new opportunities to people for learning science at their own leisure time and, more significantly, in a new way completely different from the formal mode. The idea of extending science and technology education through the medium of science museums got a filip when the Government of India decided in 1956 to set up an organized Industrial & Technological Museum at Kolkata.

The Birla Industrial & Technological Museum (BITM) Kolkata opened in 1959. Encouraged by the success of the BITM and realizing the potential of a Science & Technology Museum in popularizing science among the people at large, CSIR, under the control of which BITM was functioning, decided to set up a similar institution at Bangalore which, during the sixties, was fast growing to be a significant hub for scientific activities in the region. The Visvesvaraya Industrial & Technological Museum (VITM), set up in 1965, soon grew into an extremely popular institution for students in and around Bangalore. This was followed by the establishment of a Science Museum in Mumbai.

In the meanwhile, the Planning Commission of the Government of India constituted a task force to asses the activities of the science museums functioning under CSIR and recommend the course of action to be taken for the growth, sustenance and adequate use of these institutions. The task force envisaged an immense potential of science museums for the creation of science awareness and scientific temper among the people at large and made the following important recommendations:

1) Science museums are to be developed at three levels — national, regional and district levels — supported by mobile science exhibition units.

2) Science museums to be set up in different parts of the country need not be of the same type nor should they follow a uniform model in terms of their size, nature and scope. However, the museums may have a common basic core element supplemented by sections relevant to local conditions.

3) For the planning of the network of science museums, there should be a separate executive agency with required specialization and expertise.

Accordingly, the Government of India decided to incorporate an autonomous society titled 'National Council of Science Museums' (NCSM), on 4 April 1978. The existing science museums at Kolkata, Bangalore and Mumbai were subsequently delinked from CSIR and transferred to the NCSM. The NCSM was also mandated to develop new science museums and science centres in the country and running them for the benefit of the society.

During the mid-nineties, a new concept was introduced in India in the field of science centres. It was felt that for making a science centre truly a visitor's place, it must offer much more than exhibitory in the closed buildings. A major initiative in this direction was taken with the inauguration of the Science City in Kolkata in 1997. With the popularity and success of the Kolkata Science City having been established, work on setting up a new Science City at Kapurthala named as Pushpa Gujral Science City was started in the late nineties.

As compared to science centres which non-formally teach different principles of science and technology through hands-on interactive exhibits, the science cities have a much broader scope of activities and facilities. These include: a science exploration hall for displaying hands-on minds-on exhibits in various fields of science and technology; a large format film projection system; space flight simulator; a science park and recreational areas like cafeteria, souvenir shop, boating, etc.

The major objectives of the science museums and science centres, in general, are:

- To popularize science.
- To create a scientific temper — fighting superstition and obscurantism.
- To supplement science and technology education given in formal educational institutions.
- To organize outreach programmes on science and technology to reach the people at large.
- To collect and disseminate information in regard to science and technology.
- To actively engage in building up scientific manpower.
- To generate a scientific culture in the present knowledge-based society.

In addition to the above, the science cities have the following additional objectives:

- To portray the growth of science and technology and their application in industry, human welfare and environment, with a view to develop a scientific attitude and temper and to create, inculcate and sustain a general awareness among the people.

- To promote and enhance public understanding of the culture of science and technology.

- To popularize science and technology in cities, urban and rural areas, for the benefit of students and for the people at large by organizing exhibitions, seminars, popular lectures, science camps, etc.

Pushpa Gujral Science City (PGSC), Kapurthala, has been set up on 72 acres of land on Jalandhar-Kapurthala state highway. The PGSC Complex is located adjoining the National Institute of Renewable Energy and Punjab Technical University (PTU). This project is a joint venture of the Government of India and the Government of Punjab, being set up with an investment of Rs.100 crore.

The foundation stone of the science city was laid on 17 October 1997 by the then Hon'ble Prime Minister of India, Shri I K Gujral. Prof A P J Abdul Kalam, President of India and a renowned scientist, has been associated with Project as the Chief Patron of the PGSC Society.

The PGSC is being developed as an institution of excellence — a complex to hum with science activities all the year round and to generate and nurture creativity in young minds. The vision of the science city goes beyond a museum or a theme park. It aims to facilitate education through entertainment. The science city with its interactive exhibits and hands-on activities provides a viable alternative to other science popularization programmes. It showcases contemporary and imaginative exhibits, hands-on experiences, working models, virtual reality, activity corners and labs and live demonstrations to provide an understanding of science and technology to the students and equally to the common man.

The Pushpa Gujral Science City is being developed as:

- **A place for education**: it will provide young people with the opportunity to explore informal ways of acquiring knowledge.

- **A place for widening knowledge**: it will offer everyone — children and adults, general public and researchers — the many tools of its resource centres.

- **A place for innovation**: to provide opportunities to individuals to try out their ideas in the design and development of new products.

- **A place for information**: to compile and disseminate information on the latest developments in science and technology.

- **A place for career guidance**: to assist young people to select the most appropriate career in science and technology from a wide spectrum of opportunities.

- **A place for demonstrating emerging technologies**: such as nano-technology, micro machines, levitations, genomics, etc.

- **A place to demonstrate the industrial strength of Punjab,** through models and visuals of various prominent industries.

- **A place to display the national strength in the field of science and technology**: demonstrating the developments in science and technology in CSIR/DRDO/ISRO/BARC/ICMR/ICAR, etc.

- **A place to participate in adventure sports**: such as rock climbing, aero-ballooning, boating, etc.

- **A place of debate**: it will direct its efforts towards bringing together researchers and participants who are eager to discuss important questions raised by scientific and technological progress.

- **A place of social progress**: it will act as a guidance centre building up its interactive software library and presenting exhibitions on different career sectors, agriculture sector and industrial sector.

- **A place of civilization**: its task will be to assist all its contemporaries in entering the intelligence of today's world to better manage and master the future, and above all

- **A place for edutainment**: learning through experience and entertainment.

In order to fulfil the mission objectives, the science city will have numerous areas of activities. The main attraction in the science city will be the exhibits displayed in an interesting manner and so selected that they:

- Provide hands-on and minds-on experience.
- Are interesting and exciting for visitors of all ages.
- Encourage visitors to learn basic scientific principles.

- Relate science-exhibit activities to modern school curricula.

- Reinforce the formal learning experience.

- Serve as a catalyst for improved science education.

The PGSC shall conduct various educational training workshops and activities so as to create a visit to science city a memorable and participative experience. The Vocational and Career Guidance Centre will help the students to think about their careers at an early stage, so that they are guided how to achieve their aims and goals in life. The Entrepreneurial Development Centre will create awareness regarding new avenues in business and technologies that can be used for design, development and production, etc., among the budding entrepreneurs.

The science city has various kinds of restaurants and food kiosks to satisfy different tastes. Internal transport is provided to cover movements of visitors to various parts of the science city spread across 72 acres of land. There is a souvenir shop relevant to the exhibit themes in the science city.

The science city has been planned to have both indoor and outdoor interactive exhibits. It has several galleries to present memorable, full of knowledge and excitable experience.

The implementation of the project has been divided into two phases. The biggest attraction in Phase-I is the Space Theatre in which the Large Format films are projected on a 23 metre tilted dome to provide the visitors immersible experience. A 30 seater Flight Simulator provides visitors a sense of adventure through virtual expeditions to the Moon and the Centre of Earth. Space Gallery displays cut-view models of satellites and various applications of space technology. Hands-on experience on internet, GIS, educational software is provided in the Cyber Space Gallery. Visitors have minds-on experience at the Virtual Reality Centre. An artificial lake, (water body) approximately one kilometre long provides boating facilities. Close to the water body, an Energy Park has been developed, displaying the various applications of different kinds of non-conventional energy sources.

In Phase-II, there will be five new galleries. A gallery on Health and Biotechnology would focus on spreading awareness about HIV/AIDS. The gallery would also show as to how life style and balanced diets can help man to have long and healthy life. The

Evolution Gallery, consisting of Dinosaur Park, will be created on the island, which will have a magnificent view from the lake. To make the students understand the basic laws of Physics and fundamentals of science, a new gallery on Fun Science is under development. To make the visitors aware about the latest technologies, a gallery on Emerging Technologies has also been planned. This gallery will show how nanotechnology, biotechnology, optical computing and levitation, etc., are going to change the science scene in coming years. The Gallery on Robotics and Digital Studio are going to be very exciting. Outdoor LASER Show and Aero-ballooning have been planned for providing amusement with scientific explanations.

It is advantageous to involve, technically and financially, other Government Ministries connected with various facets of science and technology, besides the funding and controlling Ministry of Culture. The PGSC, therefore, as a matter of policy, is collaborating with several Ministries of the Government of India for setting up specialized galleries. Some examples are given below.

The Ministry of Non-conventional Energy Sources has decided to set up the Energy Park at the science city. The grant committed is to the tune of one crore rupees. With this grant, the science city has been able to establish a Solar Energy Park, Hydro Energy, and Bio-mass Energy Centre and a Solar Restaurant.

The proposal of the science city for providing of a toy train, Engine Simulator, Technologies used in the railway system and dioramas on hill railways (Nilgiri Railways, Kalka-Shimla Railways and Darjeeling Railways) has been approved by the Ministry of Railways.

The Indian Meteorological Department has set up a Current Weather Monitoring Station. A Satellite link is being established to connect the weather monitoring information with the national network.

The Environment and Ecology Education and Awareness Park is being set up with the active collaboration of the Ministry of Environment and Forests.

Various studies on evaluation of the impact of science centres and museums the world over have established that these institutions are a powerful engine of economic development in the region, in which they operate. The contributions come in terms of direct economic

activity relating to employment generation, providing goods and services to the science centre, establishment of knowledge-based commercial activities and spending by visiting public on accommodation, food and travel, etc. Economic activity also gets a boost due to the inflow of tourists and linkages with educational institutions, thereby promoting educational kits and literature, facilitating technology transfer and serving as an effective player in the transition from an industry-based economy to a knowledge-based economy.

The science centres could act as resources for entrepreneurship development; science education; vocational guidance and training in the emerging areas of science and technology; setting up an inventor's forum to encourage innovation and facilitating interaction between the scientists and members of the public; bringing about a feeling of national pride among the visitors about the nationally/internationally renowned scientists of the country; encouraging people to live with nature and making them aware of problems relating to energy and environment conservation; bringing a spirit of adventure through sports and generating a pride in the local community for having a unique centre among them.

The healthy development of a child, coupled with his/her good performance in school/college, is always desired by parents. Studies have shown that students in activity-based programmes exhibit increased creativity, positive attitudes towards science, perception, logic development and communication skills, leading to greater satisfaction among the parents. Also, the level of understanding of science and technology, which is now considered essential to function as citizens in a modern industrial society, is positively related to civic scientific literacy, as the science city would provide rich, social environment of the kind that support, learning.

The science city would primarily focus on supplementing formal science education through interactive exhibits and attempt to bring the class-room curricula, in a more practical way, nearer to the students. The science city is truly an edutainment centre, catering to the knowledge-based entertainment needs of the community and has become a place for an enjoyable visit for the whole family, rather than limited to school groups.

The 'Digital Divide' has started making distinct disparities between the developed countries and the developing world. Many

people in the developing countries do not have access for numerous reasons. Diverse communities, people with low incomes and the less educated are the groups often lacking access to information resources. Also, disparities exist between different sections of the society and different regions. As much as the new technology can equalize opportunities for students of all backgrounds, the absence of these basic resources — computers, software and Internet service — has the potential of widening gaps between populations.

To develop new products and stay competitive, high-tech industry demands a computer-skilled workforce. Education is always helpful when it comes to getting good jobs. However, now as our economy is increasingly based on information technology, getting a job may depend upon how technically skilled you are. Jobs requiring no computer skills will become fewer and fewer.

The science city offers immense opportunities for bridging the digital divide by providing facilities to the local population by offering basic computer courses and equipping them with basic proficiency in computer literacy. Such an experiment has been tried at the Pushpa Gujral Science City where the public has shown tremendous interest in undergoing basic computer courses.

The science city is spreading awareness about the usage of Internet, particularly to those citizens who have already crossed the formal education age. As we know, the Internet is changing how we communicate, shop, educate ourselves, get our news and elect leaders. Even jobs like fashion designers, musicians, construction workers and auto-mechanics require computer knowledge and Internet consultation.

The science city is playing an important role in encouraging young people to become technologically literate and be able to browse community-based sites. Open access to Internet is provided in the science city to motivate the general public about the immense potential the Internet offers in today's world.

We are living in an era of the information revolution and the information age, which is fast resulting in an on-going process of economic, social and political globalization. One critical issue that emerges from all of these processes is the central role of knowledge, education and learning for the success of the global information society and global information economy. Knowledge is becoming an increasingly important factor of production, even more important,

some analysts would argue, than land, labour and capital. Almost all developing countries are adjusting their priorities to strengthen the basis for knowledge society and knowledge management. The science city would definitely play an important role in strengthening knowledge-based society.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, globalization is accelerating the rate of economic, demographic and cultural changes worldwide. A principal challenge to education today is to shift from a localized factory-model focus to one that prepares citizens to function in an increasingly interconnected and rapidly changing globalized world. The science city is playing an effective role in addressing global problems, such as environmental issues and concerns, from population growth to climate change and health from HIV/AIDS to Biotechnology. All these demand the cultivation of interdisciplinary and global perspectives to contend with shared human problems.

Another important aspect is about the types of exhibits the science city has and the interactivity they provide. There is no doubt that literacy in the twenty-first century will be media literacy. The basic skills of reading and writing are no longer sufficient to work and thrive as a citizen of the global community. Visitors to the science city are trained to 'learn how to learn' and seek information integrating new knowledge into pre-existing ways of knowing. The science city also addresses the knowledge requirement for the kinds of industries emerging in the age of globalization — such as biotechnology, new materials science, human genetics, advanced computing, artificial intelligence, and human/computer interfaces.

The role of media in the development of children is becoming extremely important. Therefore, the display and presentation in the science city is such that the visitors have more orientation towards edutainment rather than displaying only serious science.

The objective of the programme is to create awareness about various facets of science, technology and environment among students, youth, teachers, tribals, farmers, other rural population, professionals and the general public, etc. In these programmes, societal issues such as environmental protection and energy management are discussed with the active involvement of the community. The important days which are celebrated in the science city are:

- **World Wetland Day (February 2)** — On this day, in 1971, the Ramsar Convention on Wetlands of International Importance

was signed. Wetlands are a very important part of our biodiversity and it is essential to see that they are well protected.

- **National Science Day (February 28)** — National Science Day is celebrated to commemorate the discovery of the Raman Effect for which Shri C V Raman, an Indian scientist, was honoured with the Nobel Prize.

- **World Forestry Day (March 21)** — Activities such as planting trees and highlighting the urgency to increase the green cover.

- **World Water Day (March 22)** — The decision to celebrate this day has been taken recently as drinking water sources are fast depleting. The society and the world must wake up to the problem and begin conserving it.

- **World Health Day (April 7)** — The World Health Organisation (WHO) was constituted on this day in 1948. Every year, the WHO puts forward a theme-specific health-related issue for bringing about public awareness.

- **Earth Day (April 22)** — In 1970 a group of people in the United States of America got together to draw the attention of the world to the problems being caused to the earth due to modernization. Since then this day has been celebrated all over the world as Earth Day.

- **Anti-Tobacco Day (May 31)** — The world is now aware of the problems faced not only by smokers but also people who inhale the smoke. Creating public awareness and launching anti-smoking campaign, among the visitors can be undertaken by science centres.

- **World Environment Day (June 5)** — On this day, in 1972, the Stockholm Conference on Human Environment was held in Sweden. Concerns for the increasing environmental problems can be communicated to the visitors on this day.

- **World Population Day (July 11)** — Population has to be given special attention, as it is an ever-increasing problem especially in India.

- **World Ozone Day (September 16)** — The United Nations declared this day as the International Day for the Preservation of the Ozone Layer. It is the day the Montreal Protocol was signed.

- **Green Consumer Day (September 28)** — The problems of consumerism and its impact on the environment is an area of

major concern in today's world. Awareness building on the importance of recycling, reusing and reducing should be taken up seriously.

- **World Habitat Day (October 3)** — The earth is the habitat of not only human beings but also all living creatures. Increasing human activities are threatening the habitat of other living things.

- **World Wildlife Week (October 1-7)** — Celebrate this week by building awareness on the importance of preservation of our wildlife.

- **World Animal Welfare Day (October 4)** — The welfare of animals has to be looked into and given due importance.

- **International Day for Natural Disaster Reduction (October 13)** — Due to a change in the environment there has been an increase in the number of natural disasters. Efforts have to be taken to reduce these disasters.

- **Children's Day in India (November 14)** — Children can work together for a better tomorrow by improving the environment around them.

On these days, the following items are organized to bring about public awareness of the burning issues:

- A popular lecture on the theme of the Day.
- Putting up information panels along with photographic/ illustrative enlargements.
- Enacting a play highlighting the issue.
- Organizing quiz.
- Organizing a debate on the particular issue.
- Organizing a poster competition.
- Having a photograph competition.
- Encouraging computer-based interactive programmes with touch screen provision.

All nations, whether industrialized or developing, face a broad array of challenges that require the application of up-to-date scientific knowledge and technology. Such challenges include stimulating economic growth, mitigating environmental problems, safely adopting beneficial new technologies, and quickly responding to sudden

outbreaks of new diseases. No nation can now afford to be without access to a credible, independent science and technology (S&T) capacity that would help it to develop informed policies and take effective action in these and other areas. Science City, obviously, is likely to play an important role in these areas.

Contributors

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